

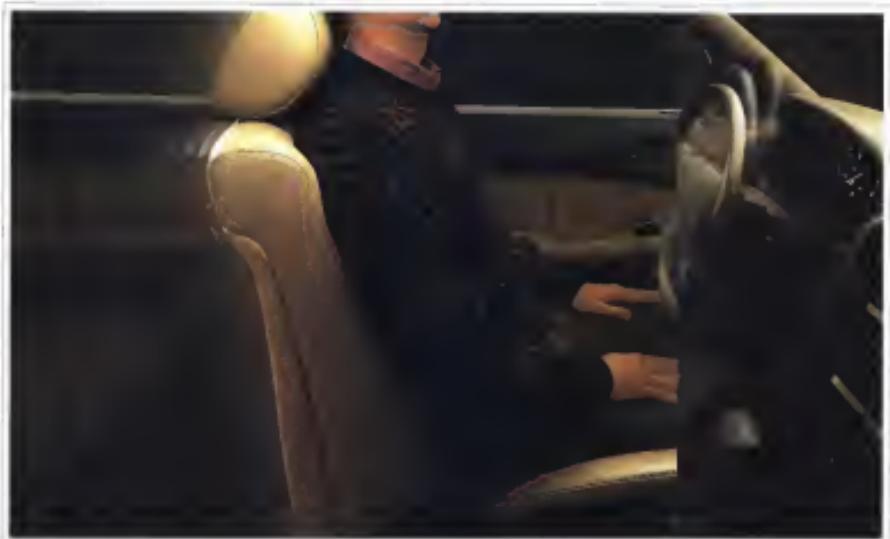
PETER C.
NEWMAN ON
CANADA—1892

Maclean's

THE CRY OF A DYING PEOPLE

In Baidoba, Somalia, Fatuma Hussein Mohamed was unable to join the line for food. In a dry, dusty, terrible place, her soft moans finally ceased. She died alone, the last of her family. She was 12.





Driving A Lexus Is An Experience You'll Never Forget. Remarkably, The Car Won't Forget You Either.

Described as "a technological war de force," the Lexus LS 400 heavy performance sedan fully bristles with a myriad of features designed to enhance your comfort, confidence

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advanced heating and air conditioning systems allows you to set the desired temperature, and forget about it. The system then automatically monitors and adjusts the climate on a year-round basis.

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Ultimately, there's Black.

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COVER

THE CRY OF A DYING PEOPLE

The African nation of Somalia is suffering from the twin terrors of famine and war. Up to a third of its population is facing starvation. And relief workers say that malnutrition is so severe that at least one in four Somali children under the age of five has already died and many more will do so, even though foreign aid is finally beginning to enter the country in significant amounts. — 30



BUSINESS

MEXICAN STANDOFF

Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, like his counterparts in Canada and the United States, is gambling that Mexico will buy the benefits of free trade. Salinas told *Maclean's* that his country needs NAFTA to attract capital. The main beneficiaries of the deal will be Mexico's next generation. — 33



SPECIAL REPORT

PORTRAIT OF A PROMISED LAND

Author and *Maclean's* columnist Peter C. Newman has worked with photographer Peter Christopher to produce a book that dramatically evokes the arduous spirit of a century ago. *Canada 1892* combines Newman's reconstruction of a bygone age with Christopher's stunning images of historical sites. — 36





A Deepening Tragedy

Even by the brutal standards of the 20th century, war and drought have been terrible Somalis, on the Horn of Africa. The moment, most vicious corner of the world. The people there, who the world has forgotten, became accustomed to a rhythm of饁emergency, but not end. To the recent phenomenon of drought coupled with a devastating civil war. So imminent is the suffering, so unthinkable the fact that someone in a population of roughly seven million does every two minutes of starvation or disease related to starvation, that it is tempting for those in more fortunate countries to simply turn away. To their credit, many Canadians—and the federal government—have refused to do so. Canada has contributed \$1.8 million in food and medical aid, and \$50 million more is on the way to the drought-ravaged region. Canadian doctors and aid workers are performing heroic tasks against monumental odds. But the tragedy is deepening, and much of the world is, indeed, turning away.

Part of the reason for the tepid Western reaction is that for decades, the Horn of Africa was being used in the Cold War battle to control the strategic Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. Both sides in that struggle poured weapons into the area, and Somalia's distance. Siad Barre used them to maintain his grip on power and enforce a semblance of unity on the tribal groups that form the country. With the end of superpower involvement, civil war spread quickly and Barre fled into exile—in the drought-torn land. Now, with no strategic value seemingly diminished, Somalia and its awesome suffering can easily ignore by the very countries that once armed and funded its rulers.

As Foreign Editor Bruce Wallace reports from inside the country, "Since the end of the Cold War, Somalia has been turned into a stage where the depths of the world's inhumanity are on display." No matter how much aid now reaches the starving country, hundreds of thousands of people will still die. It is late for a real beginning of a massive Western rescue, but it is far too soon to give up.

Kevin W. Day



Wallace: Somalia has become a stage where the depths of the world's inhumanity are on display

Maclean's

CANADA'S MOST READ NEWSMAGAZINE

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comes ... are the result of unprotected sex. This tells me that AIDS is contracted by personal choice, not chance. Why can we not take responsibility for our own actions and their consequences? The only way to stop the spread of AIDS in our country is not to call it aids sex, but rather the time-honored practice of keeping sexual activity pure until we enter a heterosexual marriage relationship.

Chad Pratt,
Cornwall, Ont.

Eight months ago, I was diagnosed with a very serious form of cancer. Since then, I have noticed the way in which our society deals with various diseases. AIDS is new and fascinating and commands the attention of the media and golfers; cancer is middle-class and somewhat anonymous. I was pleased, therefore, to read Alan Forthouspian's recent article on this subject. While it is important to try to find a cure for all diseases, we should acknowledge that cancer is the greatest killer and expand our efforts accordingly. As I understand it, for the great majority of people who do not have AIDS, safer, relatively simple preventions in the areas of sexual activity and drugs will

virtually ensure that they do not get the disease. Hence, let's hear from our doctors that a bunch of bracelets a day will cure our disease or prevent others from getting cancer.

Peter A. Myhal
Toronto

A riddle unwrapped

Carol Black is an engrossing! The true engrossing in the fact that we Canadians, as citizens of a supposedly free country, should protect the privacy of a man who buys newspapers "to make money to buy more newspapers" ("Black power," Aug. 30). There was a time when that kind of ambition was admired, not questioned. The job created and money generated by his newspaper respect should be left enough, without fearing for his life of harassment.

Darlene Eggleton,
Pilkington, Ont.

Given their penchant for things of the far right, the announcement of the Conrad Black/Julian Assange affair poses several questions. For instance, who gets to sleep on the right side of the bed and snuggle up in it to check under that bed for the sun-darkening Commissars? At any rate, we wish them well. Let's know who deserves each other.

Delton Brock,
Sudbury, Ont.

And now, the verdict

In the July 30 issue, George Bass discusses the activities of the GCHQ service. The author and his source ("Bishop," or, perhaps, "Media Spy" - Media Spy? - Media Spy?) He points out some of the errors of the filmmaker, Brian McKenna. In the Aug. 3 issue, ("A war of words," Letter) McKenna responds with an attempt at character assassination against Bass. Had McKenna dealt with the subject as I think he did, he might have been persuasive. Turning to personal attacks, he lost his case completely.

F.S. MacDonald
Peterborough, N.S.

Why should only Germans have to look at themselves closely in the mirror of history? The bombing of German cities and the creation of fire storms were deliberate attempts to kill civilians and to destroy their habitats. The bombings were, in fact, side effects of strategic undertakings. Whether you kill people in gas chambers or die in an aerial bombardment, it makes little difference to them.

Gary Schatz,
Lancaster, Pa.

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J.D. MacGregor
Shubenacadie, N.S.

California dreaming

As a homesick Canadian living in southern California, I keep two very important links with home: first I subscribe to Maclean's and second I watch Canadian Keith Morrison on the local news station. The July 26 issue of Maclean's ("Return of the native," People) reported that Morrison is returning to Canada and the CTV network. I was crushed! I was jealous! I was concerned! The article stated that Morrison is returning home because "In Canada, journalism is a business, too, but it is also a calling." More than once I was sure I saw him

wave at the sound-bite style of coverage, the often ludicrous topics, the lack of objective reporting and the absence of in-depth analysis. As a local government administrator, I can also say that Morrison's time in California, I have been surprisingly exploring a zone back. My relatives think I have lost my mind. Why would I want to return to constitutional debates, car and the weather? And I respond: "Why would anyone want to raise issues such as health care, safe cities, a vibrant political environment, women's rights, gun control, public transportation?" There's a place for me!

Tom Rovito,
Redondo, Calif.

Vintage Talk #2

ONTARIO WINES SMILE AND SAY CHEESE.

Bronson Fine Vidal De Wine 1989

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Bronson Chardonnay Chardonnay 1988

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Best Overall Wine
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Vintage Talk #3

YOU'RE CLOSE TO AN AMAZING DISCOVERY.

One of the advantages of living near the Wine Regions of Ontario is the ease of its exploration. Most wineries offer guided tours which can include tastings and have serial signs on site showing a full range of their wines. A weekend can be a pleasant tour of discovery.

St. Clair Winemakers, Etobicoke, Ont.

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ANOTHER VIEW



The triumph of the superficial

BY CHARLES GORDON

One good thing came across the border—and thanks very much for it—it is the bad stuff that we have to watch and hear, particularly in the election year. Politics themselves are at the bottom of politics themselves in 1995. The politics of separation are at the top. The United States, and particularly the Senate, are in a mess, and

we don't care. We see American politics talking about family values, while at the same time Canadian politicians talk about the Constitution. The concept of family values as a political issue is ridiculous and stupid, while the Constitution as a political issue is not. In assessing who gave our politicians the benefit of the doubt, it is certainly worth noting that American politicians are dealing with talk-show hosts and debating with rap singers, while our politicians are talking about native rights, the division of powers and the structure of such natural institutions as the Senate.

It is true, our politicians have not yet slipped to the superficial and gossipy level of those in the United States. We are not consumed with the dating history of our political leaders. There are a lot of things wrong with the way politics are conducted in this country, neither our politicians nor the media covering them very far from the surface, but at least we have never, yet, at a Canadian political convention heard someone chant "He's on again, harder harder" as accompaniment to a leader's speech, as dictators were used to shouting the other day. Even our fringe parties, the skinheads and the Bloc Québécois, have some substance to them. They are about something, not just a huge shapeless whine like the Ross Perot movement in the United States.

We have not slipped for that yet, yet, be it the operative word. Remember that we have a lot in common with the United States. Our political guys read the same research. Our journalists watch their journalists. And our voters are subject to the same influences as their voters. People imagine we can

Canada's preferred news source!

Our politics have not slipped to the gossipy level of the Americans. We are not consumed with the dating history of our leaders.

go here too. *Entertainment Tonight* has a Canadian audience. Superficiality crosses borders. It reaches everybody.

If the American system is in dismal shape—and few doubt it—it is due to an interplay of causes. Voters are like *Media-savvy Politicians* are fond. Does that sound familiar? Make no mistake in the coming months of how many politicians in English-speaking Canada due to challenge the consensus reflected in the latest constitutional accord.

American politicians have been relying on gullibility so long that they don't know what they believe anymore. And if they do believe something, they are not sure that they should. In recent years, they have seen the voters turn against good policies for apparently no good reason, throw out great representatives along with not-so-great ones. The politicians are frightened, afraid to say anything definite for fear of being attacked, particularly by superficial groups. There is a lot of the media out there growing tired for their personal deals. Many of the best politicians choose not to become leaders, many of the best citizens choose not to enter politics at all.

The American media, more and more, are going for the roughly but rather than the refined. They say that it is because there are no

issues, but the street runs both ways. The media ignore the issues to concentrate on personalities, then the politicians will play the personality game and stop wanting the media's fine-tuned policies. The media claim that past sexual indiscretions are important indicators of future integrity, but the important is transparently self-service. Readers like the *Health Minister*—another self-service argument, has a true one. In the wake of the latest wave of British royal scandal and topless photographs and all that showed that the British people want the press to stop nosing into the Royal Family. At the same time, circulation figures showed that the newspapers during the squalor had been increasing in readership.

The essential story—Bill Clinton's past affairs and George Bush's low—works well for news organizations because it deals with issues and wary of people not reading news stories even if they are produced. After the initial hit—a political leader caught in bed with the next-best person however shiny—anyone who reads the story in reaction is likely to do so in a negative. One person after another can be shown in front of the camera to pronounce, shock and disapprove, and the press can manipulate that reaction to continue.

Even very serious political issues can be reduced to the same level. The Republican convention was discussed not in terms of the ideas presented but in terms of the "business" in the polls it might have provided. Failure to reach expected turnout levels becomes a story in itself, augmented by reaction to the failure to match the expected levels. Bush's acceptance speech is analysed not in its merits, if any, but on whether it was a "house-warming" speech the speech happening during baseball season in a lecture by Houston Adelstein, in which the ball did not carry exceptionally well. Watch for business and the house—no, to appear soon in Canadian media. We already have imported the looseleaf punch, usually employed in so-called analysis of televised political debates. So it is not as if the concept were new to us.

The combination of journalistic scribbling for the easy story and politics providing it only works if the story—the reader, the news—lets it. Does the news editor demand something more, a superficial politics is created, a politics in which who wins matters more than what the winner does, leading eventually to a situation in which who wins no longer matters at all. If the voter doesn't buy it, then the voter-reader never demands something better, the politicians and the media will be forced to provide it.

Anyone can break the cycle of superficiality—the politicians by giving the gullible what they think, the media by abandoning politics, personally responsible reporting, the voters by refusing to change. The channel just because an idea is apparent on the screen. There are few signs of any of that happening in the United States right now. As always, we in Canada are better off neighbour. Agree with it or not, we are not federalists—so much the better. And the next one could be us. But we are holding ourselves if we think the border will keep the politics of superficiality out.



Malone outside the Charlottetown meeting; after months of negotiation, a dramatic new phase in the unity debate

CANADA

RUSH TO PASSAGE

OTTAWA AND THE PROVINCES MAKE PLANS FOR A NATIONAL VOTE ON REDRAWING THE NATION

I owed Malone, "There is considerable support among the provinces and for the idea."

In fact, last week's talks marked the close of a long and arduous phase of the constitutional

reform process, and the start of a much shorter and more dramatic new chapter. Even though Malone and the other leaders reached a tentative agreement on Aug. 23, the working and intent of several clauses remained unclear. In private, some federal and provincial leaders expressed concern that the fragile agreement might founder over seemingly innocuous disputes about how the courts might interpret some clauses. But those issues were largely resolved in Charlottetown—and as a result, Malone's advisers acknowledged privately, plans were made for a constitutional referendum. But the provinces still wanted to discuss the proposal with members of the Quebec legislature at a weekend conference. As well, the first minister had not agreed to the wording of a referendum question, one of several issues that they hoped to settle that week.

With that, the country's federal and provincial

leaders can swing into action. Federal sources told Malone's that Malone is planning to recall Parliament on Sept. 8—and to radio legislation authorizing an Oct. 26 referendum through the House of Commons and Senate within one day. The official campaign would last 30 days. Following the terms of a private member's bill on referendums that Parliament passed in June, assuming that voters in all 14 provinces approved the package, all of the country's legislatures would likely move to ratify the package by the end of the year.

Still, the agreement faces a series of potential pitfalls. The most direct danger is the possibility that voters in one or more provinces could reject the agreement. In theory, most

not clear how many other elements of the package require approval by all 13 provinces. Even a strong referendum result in favor of the package in all provinces would not guarantee passage of the accord. Under the terms of the 1982 Constitution Act, any measure requiring the support of seven provincial legislatures representing at least 90 per cent of the population does unless it receives those endorsements within three years of its passage by the first legislature. During that period, provinces that have joined the measure can vote to rescind support—as Premier Clyde Wells' Newfoundland government did in the case of the Meech Lake accord, previously endorsed by the government of his predecessor, Brian Peckard.

The prospect of such a reversal already looms in Manitoba. Premier Gary Filmon has two options that could threaten to erode his Conservative majority—the party has 25 members in the 57-seat chamber. Both opposition parties have strongly criticized the agreement. In Quebec, where Bourassa's Liberals would trial the separated Parti Québécois in separate polls, there will likely be an election next year.

Fragments of a national referendum say that their political uncertainties are strongest—and political resolve to go ahead with an early vote. Although the Conservatives would have no legal force, and John Whyte, dean of law at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., it would be "incredibly perverse" because it would reflect the will of the people. Moreover, a campaign waged simultaneously across the country would tend to focus the debate on national rather than regional interests, which are potentially more divisive.

Malone cited both of those arguments during a meeting last Wednesday with his cabinet. Several ministers from Quebec—led by Health Minister Bev Bouchard—voiced concern that Quebec might act as an underachiever if a federally sponsored vote were held in Quebec at the same time as in other provinces. But Malone said that there would be little opposition in the rest of the country to holding an exception of Quebec—and he remained Bouchard and other ministers that Bouchard would retain the right to stage a second referendum if he wanted. In any event, Bouchard has said that he will not Quebec's National Assembly to ratify the agreement and other legislative houses have passed it. By doing so, Bouchard hopes to keep the pressure on the rest of Canada while avoiding stalemate: members of the Meech Lake experiment, when Quebec approved an accord only to discover later that three other provinces wanted to rescind it.

All of the first ministers agreed that speed is the key to a successful resolution of the unity debate, and not just because of the danger that could lose voters before the referendum process ends. Swift also sees it as an opportunity to distract voters who are bitter about the time and energy expended on constitutional discussions.

But it is already clear that the planned

CANADA WATCH

Although the details will have to be worked out, Canadians will likely vote on Oct. 26 on a constitutional amendment that would give provinces the right to opt out of the 11 federal ministers, two federal departments and two native entities. Meeting in Charlottetown, the first ministers argued about some of the wording of the accord but agreed to push for speedy ratification in other developments.

• **Quebec** Premier Bob Rae and Newfane's Great Northern agreed to set aside some of their "parent" units in the new Senate for women.

• **Alberta** Premier Alison Redford said that if it would withdraw its support for the deal if it is rejected by a majority of voters in its province.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK
"We're talking about the Fathers of Confederation. Where are the mothers?"

—Bogin Jaffin, professor of women's studies at the University of Prince Edward Island on the dismal rate of men in the unity file

elements of the package need the support of just seven provinces representing at least 50 per cent of the population. In some key clauses, voters would decide. And because the process is the result of a series of delicate compromises by the provinces, the approval of any one element might be enough to cause other provinces to withdraw their support—perhaps killing the agreement. According to some constitutional experts, the proposed needs unanimous approval because it would require changes to the authority of existing federal institutions. And unanimity is clearly required for Bouchard's key condition that provinces be granted a right to veto any future changes to federal institutions. Those, moreover, made constitutional experts say that it is

National Notes

SLEEPING THROUGH MURDER

The Supreme Court of Canada upheld the controversial 1985 acquittal of Kenneth Parks, who said that he was sleeping when he murdered his mother-in-law in 1981 after driving 23 km down a "bumpy highway" to her Scarborough, Ont., home. The court ruled that because Parks had been clinically asleep at the time, he acted involuntarily.

TIME POWER TO SHOOT

Federal Justice Minister Kim Campbell said that Ottawa will amend a section of the Canadian Code that gives police officers the right to shoot fleeing individuals suspected of committing a felony. Speaking to the annual conference of the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police in Victoria, Campbell said that police should only have the power to shoot "a suspect gone... versus threat to the public."

CHARGES OF BIAS

The families of 25 of 26 men killed in the July 13 vigilante killing at the Wanless coal mine in Borden, N.S., accused the police of negligence and of resorting to their organization, the Nova Scotia Supreme Court, who heard the inquiry—which is scheduled to begin hearings in October—but not confirmed the charges of bias. But he said, "I have a responsibility to the public to ensure inquiry costs are controlled."

A CALL TO ARMS

Appearing in Halifax before the Canadian Bar Association's annual meeting, lawyer Alan Hill urged his colleagues to end widespread discrimination and sexual harassment within their profession. Hill said to prominence during the October, 1992, congressional nomination hearings for Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas, accusing Thomas of sexual harassment. Other women in the association's meeting also listed sex as an issue within the legal profession. Declined senior Supreme Court of Canada justice Bertha Wilson: "The legal field is not intrinsically friendly to women."

ACQUISITION THE POLICE

A report by the Ontario Comptroller of Police Services said that the Toronto police force has "excessively numerous" permanent staff of its members. In particular, the report criticizes the force's handling of the case of former constable Gordon Langford, who was allowed to resign in 1993 amid allegations that he received an escort service and worked as a male prostitute.

reformulation will be hard-fought in at least four provinces: Manitoba, Quebec, Alberta and British Columbia. B.C. Premier Michael Harcourt, who left Ottawa for a journey vacation immediately after the announcement of the agreement, has come under fire from his provincial and political opponents, some constituents and many media commentators. The criticism has focused on two issues: Harcourt's endorsement of the proposal to guarantee Quebec 35 per cent of seats in the House of Commons, and his acceptance of a formula to allocate additional seats in the House of Commons. The new plan would give British Columbia 11.5 per cent of the seats in the Commons, compared with 10.8 per cent now. But it already has 12 per cent of the country's population and is Canada's fastest-growing province. And, until late in the negotiations, there was no proposal to increase seats until after the next census, scheduled for 1996. But the B.C. ministers ultimately agreed that the Commons could be enlarged before those census results are in.

Manitoba's Finance minister, will have to struggle to retain his mandate held on the Manitoba legislature, a task complicated by the fact that he is one of the few leaders to face organized opposition within the legislature to the proposal. By contrast, Liberal and New Democratic Party leaders in Alberta have said that they will support the proposal in spite of some misgivings. Outside the legislature, Premier Donald Getty will confront some opposition from the federal Reform party—whose members include many previous Conservatives. But the most emotional opposition is in

Pro-independence vigil in Quebec City last week; divisive

Quebec. Bourassa's sovereigntists challenge was to preserve his party's unity at the wake of last weekend's convention. Much of the criticism has centred on the notion that if Quebec signs the agreement, it will effectively renounce any hope of gaining more power in future talks. To counter that, in private meetings with members of the party's ultraloyal wing last week, Bourassa said that he regards the agreement

as "just one step" in the quest to gain new powers.

That claim is likely to cause widespread exasperation in other parts of the country, where Quebec's appetite for constitutional change is often denounced as insatiable. Bourassa, however, is more concerned about opposition at home. At last Saturday's Liberal meeting in Quebec City, strong shows of support for Bourassa and the package were interspersed with sharp criticism from some members—including Jean Allaire, the finance head of the party's constitutional committee, who argued that Quebec did not gain enough in the package. And Marc Dumont, president of the Liberal youth wing, said that he would not support the proposal in a referendum.

One Bourassa adviser said that the premier plans to argue that the referendum on Quebec's independence and other Canadian issues is closer than ever.

"Taking a few small steps to a future together—or a great step towards a future apart." With the referendum countdown under way, Canadians will have to come to terms with a variety of questions about the proposals, and their own contradictory emotions.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Charlottetown with BARRY CALM in Quebec City and GLEN ALLEN and NANCY WOOD in Ottawa

still hopeful. Said Liberal Senator Roger Franks, 68: "Maybe people who are closer to retirement will receive a more generous offer than those who have 30 years left. My own feelings is that whatever happens, they will come up with something fair."

Federal officials are already examining the issue. A study by the Library of Parliament last year concluded that senators are not government "employees" but rather "legislators" and, as such, may not legally be entitled to severance packages if they are forced out of office. But if the government does decide to compensate senators, the study said, one option would be to give them severance packages similar to those offered to private sector executives. In that case, members of the upper chamber could expect severance packages of between \$20,000 and \$27,000—a proposal that could total more than \$14.5 million.

Although Ottawa and the provinces have yet to agree on the timing of Senate elections, the first such vote is unlikely to be held soon. For one thing, the new Senate is supposed to be

introduced at the same time as an enlarged House of Commons—which can only be implemented after a detailed revision of rules, to be done by staff at Elections Canada. Already, however, at least 19 senators have expressed their interest in campaigning for a seat. For others, age is an impediment. Said Newfoundland Conservative Senator Jack Marshall, who turns 73 on Nov. 26: "I have only got the one issue now and that's age. If I were 50 years old, I might give it a different try." Another reason, Nova Scotian Senator John Macdonald, appointed before the mandatory retirement rule took effect in 1985, recently announced he was thinking about whether to run, adding that the election might not come for five years. "In five years I will be 81," Macdonald, who is now in hospital recovering from a broken leg, told an aide. "We will cross that bridge when we come to it."

NANCY WOOD with GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa

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'BAKE' TAKES THE HELM

For former secretary of state James Baker, it was, in the phrase made famous by former Sen. George H. W. Bush, "the best of all possible worlds." After concluding negotiations for the North American Free Trade Agreement, Baker last week found his attention drawn to Ross's reforms and Middle East peace and took up what could prove to be an even tougher challenge: designing an election campaign that will return him to the White House in November for a second term. Emphatically regarded as the master strategist who orchestrated George Bush's remarkably successful 1988 campaign during an economic boom, Baker this time inherits a divided Republican party staking out its recent wins as separating him from the Democratic rival, Arkansas Gov. William Clinton. Yet a New York

agent when the party leadership tried to

enhance its popularity by focusing on family values in a major campaign issue. But after a brief surge, the spousal issue—marginal in large part by relentless television coverage—the Republican revival appeared to come to a standstill. A series of post-convention polls showed Bush closing the gap of 15 to 25 points separating him from his Democratic rival, Arkansas Gov. William Clinton. Yet a New York

JAMES BAKER IS CHARTING A NEW COURSE FOR THE RE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF GEORGE BUSH

Times-City News Poll released last week once again showed Clinton with a commanding 55-point lead—51 to 36 percent.

Politicians said that it was clear that a necessary election to win the congressional majority was approaching. The converted moderate who had repudiated a woman and stabbed it in the back from a Massachusetts prison. A television TV advertisement portrayed Democratic presidential rival Gov. Michael Dukakis as a liberal less than committed to law and order. But that kind of attack politics was not work in 1988, when Americans seem to want a larger measure of the candidates sending them votes. The problem, said Michael Sondz, a political theorist at Harvard University, is that "both Bush and Dukakis are well-managed and pragmatic." He added, "We're not

there to defend the plan for saving the economy, democracy, challenging corruption in the campaign and for economic recovery, health care, education or energy policy—or how they articulated what America should do in the world now that the Cold War is over."

That disengagement was evident at the Republican National Convention in Houston in mid-

he said, would lower tax rates, cut spending on social programs, relax burdensome regulations and seek trade pacts like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

Soon after moving from his seventh-floor state department office to chief-of-staff quarters in the White House, the tobacco-chewing Baker, a close personal friend of Bush for three decades who is privately called the President "Bulldog," was quick to put his mark on the flagging operation. He has trademarked takecharge manner. Baker streamlined the White House and campaign staff as he brought in a team of state department aids, including spokesman Margaret Ticehier as communications director and Undersecretary of State Robert Zoellick as deputy chief of staff.

As well, he moved to refine the party's election strategy by appointing campaign chairman Robert Mosbacher to the Republican National Committee as chief fund raiser. And to sharpen the party's message, Baker took over Bush's speech-writing and theme-generating apparatus. Said Republican polisher Edward Gossen: "The important thing about a campaign is that it is a dictatorship, not a democracy. Now, we have someone to play the role of dictator." As Republican political seer Jim Lys Neighbors put it, Baker "at the 800th going-around is in charge of it."

In events as the party prepared at Baker's return, one of its members had been giving order to a chaotic campaign would be easier than repositioning the President's image. In 1988, Baker toughened Bush's image and refocused his message against Dukakis. Now, they say, Baker must re-engineer Bush to make against a stronger Democratic opponent. However, said John Sears, a Republican analyst and former Ronald Reagan campaign manager: "You can't make a mule horse outta a thoroughbred. Baker can't make his horse run in a straight line but he can't make him run faster."

Urgefully for the Republicans, pollsters say that voters are no longer impressed by the Bush administration's widely touted foreign policy triumphs. Nor are Americans likely to support a renewed assault on Iraq, where U.S., British and French planes last week began enforcing a so-called no-fly zone in the southern part of the country to protect Iraqi Shiite Muslims from attack by Baghdad's air force. Moreover, waging the Cold War cost Americans jobs and prosperity generated by the arms industry and a huge military machine. New voters are looking for a government to put the American economy on a postwar footing to compete head-on with the Germans and the Japanese.

For the Republicans, it seems family values and small banking are the issues that will carry Bush back to the White House. James Baker is accustomed to being captain of the ship. But this man has been given credit with a leaky hull—and he still faces more than two months at sea.

HILARY MACKENZIE in Washington

Bush talking with Hurricane Andrew's victims in New Orleans, La.; Bush picks



World Notes

CONTROLLING THE SKIES

American, British and French warplanes began enforcing a so-called no-fly zone over southern Iraq to shield Iraqi Shiite Muslims there from air attack. The patrolling aircraft were expected to shoot down any Iraqi planes and helicopters within sight of the 32nd parallel, just as the allies warned they would do in a similar exercise protecting Kurds in the north since April, 1991. Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein challenged the right of "our colonials and Zionist enemies" to limit flights in Iraq.

A NEW PROPOSAL

At Middle East peace talks in Washington, Israel's latest proposal for Palestinian self-rule in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said that his government was prepared to return parts of the Golan Heights to Syria in exchange for a peace treaty with Damascus.

MARSHING JERUSALEM

Canada and other Western countries condemned Soviet aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina at an international peace conference in London. External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall said Canada is prepared to send 3,000 more peacekeepers to Yugoslavia, doubling its present contingent, to help distribute food and medicine. She also pledged \$15 million to the United Nations to help relief efforts, and another \$5 million to the international committee of the Red Cross to help its work with hostages and prisoners of war.

WARMING RELATIONS

Downsizing one of the last Cold War barriers in Asia, China and South Korea established diplomatic relations. South Korean President Roh Tae-woo said that the links with Beijing removed the last external constraint on a peaceful resolution of the Korean peninsula.

RIOTS IN ROSTOCK

Neo-Nazis, skinheads and other German right-wingers, backed police in the Baltic port city of Rostock after attacking a hotel of Romanians groups. The violence in the economically depressed city underscored the frustrations of former East Germans as the once-country coped with a flood of foreign visitors seeking

DIVIDE AND RULE

Castro and Slovak leaders agreed to split the 74-year-old republic of Czechoslovakia after they failed to agree on the existence of a single state. The target date of the division is Jan. 1.

Andrew's Fury

A hurricane leaves a trail of destruction



Courtesy

The first major storm of the hurricane season boiled in from the Atlantic with merciless fury early last week, slanting through southern Florida before veering across the Gulf of Mexico and racing into Louisiana with nonstop-pounding tornadoes. By midweek, as it diminished to a drenching tropical storm, Hurricane Andrew had earned a spot in the record books as the costliest natural disaster in U.S. history. In all, at least 24 dead, 250,000 people homeless, thousands injured and emergency \$35 billion in property damage. But as though its power was greatly diminished, the remnants of the storm continued northward, smacking Ontario and southeastern Quebec, where it dumped record rainfall in some areas, especially around Trois-Rivières.

During the storm's eighteenth sweep across the Florida peninsula, winds gusting to 160 m.p.h. destroyed an estimated \$35,000 houses, trashed power lines, flattened whole towns and scores of trailer parks and sent hundreds of thousands of people fleeing to higher ground. In the flood-lashed coasts of Louisiana, 1.6 million people fled to higher ground. High winds in the city of Lafayette, west of New Orleans, blew the roof off a hotel crammed with hundreds of evacuees. In nearby Laplace, Andrew blew vehicles and the air and wrecked houses.

In Dade County, the area including Miami that was worst hit by the hurricane, local emergency officials criticized Washington for delays in deliv-

ering federal aid. Hurricane-ravaged south Florida went without basic services—clean water, electricity or a roof over their heads. Des paired Kate Hale, the director of the county's emergency management office. "Where the hell is the country on the coast?"

Des paired President George Bush, who visited southern Florida just after the hurricane passed, was not going to participate in the latest game. We are just trying to help people.

By Friday, had come Andrew struck, 8,000 troops had arrived at Dade County and surrounding areas. Cargo planes flew in tents, food, water, portable toilets, emergency generators, earth-moving equipment and medical supplies.

Among other things, the troops set up mobile kitchens, served the army's ready-to-eat meals. And Bush cancelled a scheduled weekend trip to his vacation home in Kennebunkport, Me., to monitor relief efforts from the presidential retreat at Camp David, Md. Although Massachusetts officials said that they were heartened by the arrival of the troops, they continued to criticize the government for failing to respond sooner. Said Hale, "It never under any circumstances should have taken this long."

It will take months, if not years, to restore the devastated areas. And with almost every fruit tree in southern Florida stripped of its foliage, uprooted or broken, the export of Hurricane Andrew on its agriculturally rich area could last well into the next century.



In the wake of a devastating storm (clockwise from far left), Miami residents comfort each other amid the damage; South Miami as seen from the air; National Guardsmen help distribute aid in Florida City; storm damage in Louisiana's eighteenth



THE CRY OF A DYING PEOPLE

Despite offered little dignity when at last it claimed 13-year-old Farouq Hassan Mohamed. In an audience group that had been converted to a holding center in the southern Semienleyo of Baladka, aid workers observed the dying girl's last moments with a blanket and a shroud laid in the dirt. The able-drunks from the military African unit, under the named care of a commando truck, like Fatuma's entombed legs were still visible to the 200 malnourished Somalis men, women and children who waited in line long, a few minutes even, each holding a tin container or plastic bag for the grain rations of rice or beans and beans. At the gatepost to the camp, one of 12 in the city, armed guards kept dozens of other desperately hungry people away by beating them with sticks and the barrels of machine-guns. But Fatuma was long dead, able to take her place in line. In that dry, dusty, terrible place, even her soft, moist flesh seemed shortly after noon, she died alone, the last of her family. Fatuma was the 10th person to die in the feeding centre that day. She was among the countless people who had died in one of the cruellest droughts and wars ever to afflict the Horn of Africa, now one of the most brutal and meaestors of the world.

Last week, the United States began a massive military uplift of food, much of it donated by Canada and the European Community, to Somalia and neighboring Kenya, which, like several other African countries, is also caught in what has become the continent's worst drought of the century. But the aid was slow in coming. Not until late August, after Egyptian UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali condemned the West for ignoring what he called the world's worst humanitarian disaster, did the international community react in earnest. Still, international relief experts say

VIOLENCE AND FAMINE STALK DROUGHT-RAVAGED SOMALIA AS AID BEGINS TO FLOW

that roughly two million of the country's seven million people face starvation. Now, the drought stalks famine and workers in grueling food to the needed, though ruptured, supply lines are being held by barely armed bandits.

In Baladka, since a thriving market center of 20,000 people about 240 km inland from Somalia's Indian Ocean coastline, the settlement has become a city of the dead. Most of the former residents long ago abandoned their houses, victimized first by Somalia's 1991 civil war and then by moving forces who stripped the city of furniture and other personal possessions. But doles new plows, hoes and tools to uncounted tens of thousands of Somalis who have had a countrywide battery of food after three consecutive years of drought, and who death await in its gaudy buildings or at any makeshift huts of branches and pieces of tie. Small fires in front of garages, barns, for evening warmth, casting an acrid-smelling haze down desolate alleys once thronging with carts, shops and market stalls. And through that eerie scene wander boys and young men, dazed by an amphetamine-like drug called khat, shoulder-

ing weapons with which they wage battles for control of stolen food and supplies.

Each down reveals the toll of that aarchy. There are bodies everywhere, from the courtyard of the only functioning hospital in the sprawling squatters' camp that has risen up on the outskirts of Baladka, and along the roads leading into the city where skeletal refugees simply lost the strength to go any farther. In another time, Baladka might be the waste place on earth but now, it may not even be the worst place in Somalia. From the southern port cities of Kismayo and the capital, Mogadishu, to the far-flung city of Hargeisa in the north, the long, narrow Muslim country on the Horn of Africa suffers from desolation by a two-predilection of famine and war.

Desolation: Aid workers say that malnutrition is so severe that at least one in four Somali children under the age of five has already died, and many more will die even though foreign aid is finally beginning to enter the country in significant amounts. "We are talking about losing a whole generation," said Russell Dierckx, 37, an American doctor with the

International Medical Corps, an organization in

Intersom, the only functioning hospital in Baladka. "People cannot go without food for as long as these people have without doing permanent damage to their minds and bodies."

That assessment is starkly evident in cities such as Baladka, where the wretchedness is unbroken that healthy children are simply impossible to find and the hungry move ahead in in-revolving speed, desolate state. There are no smiles in Baladka, and no tears for the dead. In a tiny, open-air room in the centre of town, a 45-year-old, Mohammed Isak, Maye struggled when asked about the condition of his wife and four children, who lay on the stone floor sweating rage. Three of the children coughed incessantly, and the other was so sickly by dysentery that he could not move.

The family had taken shelter there a month after other leaders stole the last livestock from their farm. "They can't eat without food," said Maye matter-of-factly. "I expect all of us to die." Somalia's suffering has gone on for so long that normal parental behavior has van-

ished. Maye has the left arm of his eight-year-old son, Mibao, to reveal a still-blinding wound from a stray bullet that had grazed his hand under his arm the day before. But the father made no move to get medical help for his son, lying coughing in the corner of the bawd.

Pain: But although hunger and pestilence have become a way of life in the Somalia, the rest of the world has been slow to respond to its pain. For one thing, the end of the Cold War has closed the chapter of history that turned the desolate Horn of Africa into a strategic playground for the superpowers. Somalia gained independence from its colonial overlords, Britain and Italy, in 1960. But when Gen. Siad Barre seized power in a 1969 coup, he became a willing participant in the East-West competition for influence in the Horn.

First, the Soviet Union supplied his regime with weapons and aid. Then, when Barre went to war in 1977 with Ethiopia, another Moscow client, as part of his attempt to expand westward, the Soviets abandoned him. Barre simply switched sides to the Americans, who were eager to assume the naval air bases from which to monitor the Gulf of Aden.

By January, 1991, when Barre was toppled



Desperate Somalis wait for food to arrive at a camp in Baladka, one of the moment, most brutal corners of the world

in the vacuum left by Barre's departure, another allies and new rival warlords. Mohamed Farrah Aidid and Ali Mahdi Mohamed engaged in a deadly power struggle. Neither had a detailed political program, but both say that they want a national reconciliation conference leading to a multiparty interim government, followed by elections. Their one irreconcilable difference is who gets the last blood bank, although both men are Muslims who believe in

THOUSANDS OF STARVING SOMALIS ABANDON THE BARREN COUNTRYSIDE

The Hawiye clan, one of many in Somalia, killed and its followers are Habar-Gedir, Al Madih and Al Shabeellah. Al Afrah

Gedir's faction objected when Al Madih declared himself amir and president. Their feud illustrates the depth of clan and subclan loyalties in Somalia. Gedir was considered one of Africa's most powerful clan leaders before the fighting erupted last year. Then conflict has claimed tens of thousands of lives and devastated the capital. It has also greatly exacerbated the famine brought on by the drought affecting eastern and southern Africa (page 27). A steady ceasefire between the two groups, negotiated by the UN, has been in place since March.

Preoccupied by the crisis in the Balkans and partly moved by the chronic food shortages to the Horn region, Western leaders paid little attention to the chaos in Somalia. By April, violence was so endemic that the United Nations even paid its relief workers out of the country, leaving a small band of overtrained private organisations, such as France's Doctors Without Borders and the International Committee of the Red Cross, to provide the only medical and food relief.

Banadir: The western city has not solved Somalia's most pressing problem: how to ensure that the food and medical supplies reach the people who need them most. Mirroring theives and the various military factions have been systematically stealing food for months. Sacks of emergency food that the UN sent to Somalia from Kenya have even re-emerged on sale in Kenyan towns. Because bands fre-

quently attack food convoys as they move along Somalia's rocky road system, the only safe havens in the country are those areas where no food is being privatised at all. And workers have resigned themselves to living up to half of their food rations to their short, demanding bosses at the port of Mogadishu in Somalia.

Last week, Bousquet recommended a force of 3,000 armed UN peacekeepers, a force that will include 1,000 Canadian troops, be added to the original contingent of 900 soldiers expected to arrive in Mogadishu in September to oversee the unloading of relief supplies that aid workers were sleepwalking past. The food could be adequately protected from theft. "UN soldiers may ensure that the food is not stolen at the port or the airport, but the Somalis will just wait until it arrives," he added. "After dinner the lire," said Matthew Beyeler, a 34-year-old Canadian aid worker from Toronto who has been in Somalia for three years and who is now helping co-ordinate the French Doctors Without Borders operation in Mogadishu. Added Beyeler: "Until the food is cooked and put on to a plate, they will find a way to get their hands on it."

The bandits' roles living in the vicinity of food in Somalia is a very dangerous proposition. Although there are still some skirmishes between various political factions despite the ceasefire, most publicity is given to fighting over food. At noon one day last week on a crowded street in Baidoa, two groups of teenage boys from the same clan began shooting at each other in a dispute over control of food stocks.

These conditions are the exception at Somalia's Baidoa hospital, a 100-bed, villa-style compound that looks like it built in the 1930s. Derwichek operates under primitive conditions. Water has to be hauled to three tanks each day, and latrines from which the waste is collected are the only place. With sterilisation impossible, hospital staff say that nearly every wound becomes infected. And because there is no generator, the only light is whatever sunlight gets through the narrow windows who the dusty, blood-stained rooms. "I can't see well enough to operate after five o'clock," said the white-haired Derwichek. "Unfortunately, most of the fistfights in towns seem to happen between 4.30 and six o'clock, when everyone is high on khat." Like Dhamar at Magadishu, Derwichek also put a gun to a patient's leg last week. But lacking a shell or even a hammer, he used a rock to drive the pin home.

Mambo: The fighting in Baidoa has ebbed since early August, when the hospital was besieging between 30 and 40 gun-toting rebels each day. But the net tactic is still torturing Somalis who arrive at its gates with bullet wounds that are several months old and so infected that amputation is often the only treatment. "Somocists have to find a way to make 98 per cent of these guys disappear, because

Within seconds, weapons that are casually slung over shoulders were being cocked and aimed in a street fight that displayed an uncomfortable variation: one man raised a rocket-propelled grenade launcher at another's chest from less than five feet away. After further shrapnel, the engagement was broken up and referred to clan elders to be resolved. Even so, both sides laid several roads at each other as they drove away in their Land Rovers.

Many street brawls are being fought elsewhere. In Magadishu's Medina Hospital, in a neighbourhood where famous fighting is still waged every few days, three-year-old Cusa Miremey lay on a mat one afternoon last week, her left leg fractured by a stone bullet. On what was described by French Dr Jean

Dumas as an "extraordinarily quiet day", the only other two emergency patients were also hideously victims: a woman who had been hit in the shoulder, and a young man who appeared to have had his left foot torn off by a bullet that had crossed through his skin. But the three patients at least had the good fortune to be treated at Magadishu's Dhamar's personal hospital before he fled to Kenya. It has since been the best hospital in the city. Under a bright operating light powered by a generator and with rooms to scrub to put a pin in place, Dumas was able to save the young man's foot, at least in the short term.

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A woman and child Baidoa refugee Fatima Ali Moosa comforts her dying husband and cradles her child (postponed) over stoves food

As of last week, no Western aid had reached the cities of 5,000 people, swollen beyond that number by refugees from the 30 to 40 surrounding villages. "It seems that we are not seen as the map," said district commissioner Muhamed Noor, 44. "Please tell the world to send us a clear message so we can carry our dead," he said. "Our relatives need us to bury them in the dry season like we have."

There is almost nothing to eat in Wajid, and some people have dried animal bones or straw for sustenance. But when the members of Hamed, there was no violence in Wajid. People gathered around, sometimes with their children, and drank its ever the glow of lameness. The day after the attack, he was the first to cross the river, and one of the first to arrive to distribute all weapons. "The situation is peaceful because we are all from the same clan," explained security officer Yafid Abduhamed. "There are no outsiders here."

Prayer: One stark difference between Wajid and Baidoa was evident shortly before sunset, when a wave of curious teenagers surrounded a group of senior teenagers returning visitors to Wajid. "We got the children to make kach, 16-year-old Ali Hassan Ghedi, eyes glassy from chewing khat, said his Kalashnikov rifle and fired a shot over their heads. Wajid's elders were furious, but Ghedi plays by Baidoa rules. "If that had been one of our people we would have arrested him," said Abduhamed late that night, as he and Noor set up the camp of the village homes exploring Wajid's crisis to visitors. The two were well aware that war, not drought, lay at the root of Somalia's trials. "There were droughts before Said Farrah's time and we survived," he said. "But everything we need to get through that drought has been eaten or destroyed." As the two men left the bar and stepped into the clear night air, a group of women could be heard singing prayers from the Koran in hope for, as Noor said, "an end to our troubles."

At Islaabek, the distant commissioner race early to lead a group of villagers across Wajid's assassinated a bar as the outskirts of town where the troubles had claimed another victim at the night. A light dawn wind blew a tantalising smoky air in the distance as they gathered around a camp in the darkness. Ali-Salehmed, now with a group of 100 men, had gathered his relatives to come together to try to relieve the drought, exhausted and unassisted by any Western relief workers. "This is the worst drought of my lifetime," said Salehmed, 41, as he stood in one of five kitchen huts where a security detail armed with old muskets guarded the group. "The flora and fauna who was blown away from a head wound was being beaten for trying to steal food. Mo blames the war, not the famine, for the clash," sufficing Baidoa's tragic who extorted food came and went through the village so many times, said Mo, who, "we feel like grass that has been trampled on."

Baidoa's remaining towns also ravaged the small town of Wajid, 90 km northwest of Baidoa, local canoes for food and leaving behind not much more than two dilapidated Seven-boat tanks and nearly 400 starving orphans



BRUCE WALLACE in Baidoa

‘BEYOND BELIEF’

DESPERATE SOMALIS SEEK MORE HELP

In a sense, Toronto restauranteur, executive chef Abdullaoui Ali was lucky. When he was arrested at his native Somalia in 1983, he was 42 years old. That he had no relatives in Canada, he was still married in red tape. Said a clearly frustrated Ali, a Canadian citizen since 1983: "We know that the Kenyan police are now departing Somalia. Anything could happen to my father," he added. "This is not his situation. It is an incredible situation. I think our government is blind to this situation."

Most of the estimated 45,000 Scandals

Canada has family members living in Keppel refugee camp, and they echo AI's complaints. They criticize the government's decision in July to allow up to 25,000 refugees from war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina to immigrate to Canada, without extending such "hot-track" treatment to South Asian immigrants. Minister of National Defence Ernesto Bertone explained that South Asia presented a different scenario because of its lack of infrastructure and, he claimed, some South Asians "just don't want to go." But South Asia has been a steady source of the South-Canadian Association, diaspora. "Very clearly there is a double standard here," he said. "In fact, the South Asian situation is worse than Bosnia."

on other fronts. Defense officials last week were considering plans to send up to 10,000 paratroopers to Somalia. A 500-member armoured force train in Nairobi was preparing for these-phase shift of relief supplies to the famine-stricken nation. And Canadian aid for Somalia and outside their country has increased dramatically. Since January, Canada has contributed \$11.8 million to food and humanitarian aid to Somalia, compared to \$3.4 million all last year. This year, \$3.2 million has gone to Somalis refugees in neighboring countries like Kenya where, according to warned Somalis in Canada and government officials alike, the need is urgent and growing.

by seven officials, deals with mitigation that

GLEN ALLEN in Glen-

Refugee camp in Liboi, Kenya (opposite); (below, clockwise from left) workers unloading relief supplies in Mogadishu; a doctor treats a wounded infant in a Mogadishu hospital; a feeding centre in southern Somalia: 'worse than Boma'





'Technicals' and their weapons: an air of post-apocalyptic science fiction

Letter from Somalia

A LAND OF TERROR

Bringing the seven-passenger plane into a steep descent to the runway strip in Mogadishu, Somalia, our pilot had been given strict orders, reiterated that he was, "Bring me a single Mogadishu today." Translation, he was making just one return flight to Mogadishu from Nairobi, Kenya, with a cargo of medical supplies, relief workers and journalists entering the Somali nightmare. There are some days when the chance to get into Somalia is so great that Two makes two trips, "a double Mog." Two trips with steppes in the southern Somalis as far as Karamoja are "a double Mog with chores," in the deadend pilot's language. As the world would become more aware of the tragedy unfolding in Somalia, scores of aid workers and others are trying to get into the country at the same time that thousands of Somalis are fleeing war and famine for refugee camps in Kenya. Even more remarkable are some of the doctors, nurses and relief workers who are trying to preserve a climate of sanity in the clinically insane country.

One is Matthew Beynon, 24, a British-born political science graduate from McGill who has worked in Somalia for three years and now coordinates logistics for the French humanitarian-aid group Doctors Without Borders in Mogadishu. Beynon was working in northern Somalia, just past with a team of Dutch doctors who decided to pull out of the country rather than face local armed guards for security. But Beynon instead moved to Mogadishu and joined a French team that was committed to staying. "Working away from this country is just not an option," he said. Beynon admits to mixed feelings about Somalia. "Westerners find it really to like Somalis because they do not care or are perturbed of being graceful that we are here," he said. "But I really admire the toughness of these people."

The attraction of working in a country where humanity is on hold daily is also hard for outsiders to grasp. Travelling anywhere

among other regular visitors to Somalia is like flying a half dozen Kenyan who fly tiny Cessna planes crammed with bags of the lively, and legal, drugs called that are the famine-stricken country. River between the two at Nairobi's Wilson Airport is swarming with Kenyans and local Somalis involved in the drug trade, which produces a profit of about \$13,000 to each flight. Somalis are local consumers of khat, but they do not grow the plant. The khat flights are the first planes of the ground each morning, often so grossly overloaded that they argue inside the small amount of runway to get airborne. By midmorning, Somalis who can afford it are showing the plant, which heightens the "wam" energy levels in a head that is already much too high on edge.

Stratofab. The strangeness of Somalia is only heightened by the presence of the drugs. Street scenes seem to have emerged from a special effects laboratory for post-apocalyptic science fiction. In the southern town of Baidoa, Land-Rovers roar through the streets, their well-armed and well-armed teenage passengers in "I'm The Boss" T-shirts pushing skeletal adults out of the way. Among themselves, the teenagers wear their face tats, stabbing each other with the razors in the manner of a gangly pack. "It really fits my work," and Omar Abdi Farrah, who has been forced out as a translator to Westerners. "But I don't know how long I can go on worrying about the security," he said. "If you play with a bear long enough, it will sting you."

But in the end, it is the hungry and the weak that you remember most about Somalia, because there are so many of them. In Baidoa, a city that not long more than a cemetery for the dead and nearly dead, it is impossible to look anywhere without seeing people suffering. The only way to avoid seeing Somalia's sickness and evil is to close your eyes. And that, as Matthew Beynon pointed out, is just not an option.

BRUCE WALLACE

requires hiring local, armed security staff, or "technicals" as they are called. The best squads use four-wheel drive Land-Rovers and have their own Kalashnikov and M-16s at the ready, positioned in the rear, positioned on the road. A team of ten, traveling in a column of four Land-Rovers, costs about \$1800 a day, not including gas, to provide protection in the countryside. But the price of all services, including technicals, begins to climb just weeks before the start of a U.S. air assault.

cm News' medical reporter, Robert Arnot, arrived with his roller blades in the hope of getting in some exercise—a stark impossibility on Mogadishu's battered and漫漫streets. Other new arrivals were better prepared. A photograph for the Swedish Red Cross showed up at the Kenyan border town of Libo with a Medecins sans Frontières banner hanging to take pictures for a fund-raising campaign for Somalia. For about three dozen miles, hungry Somalis refugees crossing the border checkpoint, their first experience in Kenya was to be led in front of a photographer's backdrop at the middle of a desert and told how to pose for a portrait.

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According to current estimates, it will cost as much as \$4 billion to feed Africa's hungry this year alone. Although dozen countries have responded with unprecedented levels of assistance—\$56 billion from Canada—our officials say that the international community has experts say that the international community has

been import grain for the first time in history. Local Somalis, Baidoa, Misraque, Mafra, Zawya, Hesima, and Tazima, 50 to 90 per cent of the corn crop, a staple food, has been wiped out. The drought has even destroyed such traditionally hardy crops as millet and sorghum.

How, or if, those funds continue to cause a drought in eastern, said Peter D'Abremont, a researcher with the Climate and Research Group at the University of the West Indies in Mona, Jamaica. "The problem is that our computer models of world weather patterns, and those for our region in particular, are just too crude to be able to make those kinds of connections with any certainty. It is something that has to be fixed."

In the meantime, the starving people have to do what they did before: beg or盗, like the desperate prospectors of Gold Rush, hope that they will somehow catch death. As he pointed out, if gold, Mathew Beynon acknowledged that, if he gave up his search now he will certainly die. "I will die anyway, even if I starve," he said. "But if I go, then at least I will be away from this terrible place. I pray God takes pity on us or we are finished."

A CONTINENT IN DANGER

A DEADLY DROUGHT GRIPS MUCH OF AFRICA

Under the scorching African sun, hungry subsistence farmers are racing for gold along some of Zimbabwe's drying riversides. Although a few of them find a grain or two of the precious metal, which they can exchange for necessary items, for most there is no longer enough hopelessness and wanton despair. And the work is arduous. Recently, four

traveled to urban shantytowns or refugee camps in search of food or gold. On the Horn of Africa in Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya, more than 20 million people are directly affected by both famine and civil strife. And in South Africa, a massive drought below the surface has escaped the desolation. Even formerly fertile South Africa and Zimbabwe—which have enjoyed a reputation as the continent's breadbaskets

factor—the response is always too late."

Still, even when relief arrives there are overwhelming problems. In Mozambique, civil war has laid waste to almost all transport channels. In Nigeria and Angola, roads and railways are in ruins from years of post-colonial warfare. And throughout the south, the desperate need for food has driven already overburdened ports and transportation routes.

Rain may come, as it did in April, to alleviate the problem. Flash flooding washed away the already withered crops, along with vast quantities of topsoil, because the topsoil-covered ground could not absorb the water quickly enough. So many farm animals have died and so many farmers have been economically ruined that experts predict that this year, when the rains return there will not be enough cattle for pasture and no money for seeds and fertilizer.

Caution. Scientists say that they do not know what caused the disaster. Some claim that it is a result of the periodic El Niño effect—changes in global atmospheric circulation arising from unusually warm waters off the west coast of South America. But most researchers have been cautious in naming Africa's disaster to El Niño alone, pointing out that the current drought is merely a more severe episode of a phenomenon that began gripping parts of the continent through much of the 1980s. Other scientists blame the so-called greenhouse effect—the atmospheric buildup of heat-trapping gases—and they predict another, even worse, disaster next year.

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SCOTT STEELE with GENE ERASERUS in Cape Town and correspondent's report



Zimbabweans harvest the remnants of a failed sugar crop for fodder—hopelessness

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LINES OF DEFENCE

THE PROVINCES ARE RESISTING OTTAWA'S EFFORTS TO KNOCK DOWN TRADE BARRIERS WITHIN CANADA

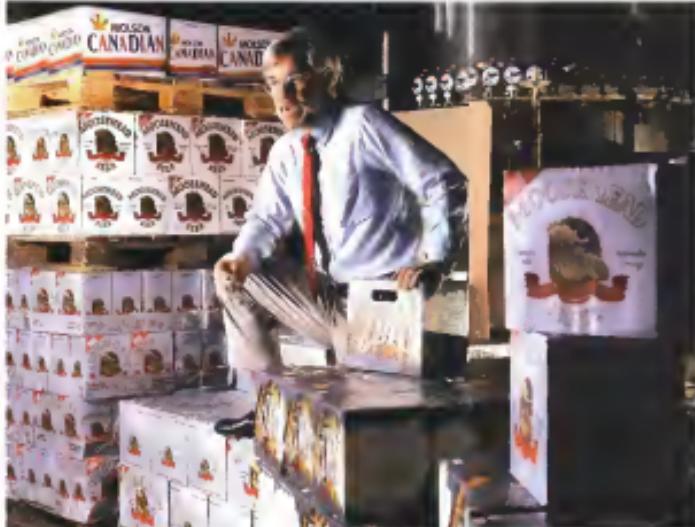
They are the kind of complaints that companies seldom voice in public for fear of retaliation. One Edmonton steel fabricator estimated the losses had for a contract in the Northwest Territories. But the contract went to a local steelmaker. The Alberta company was told its bid was low, but not low enough. In another case, an Ontario-business-forms manufacturer bid on a contract to supply the Saskatchewan government. But company executives said that it had to build a plant in the province to get the business. Whether the interprovincial trade barriers are subtle or explicit, Canadian companies are lobbying to get rid of them. Roger Phillips, president of Regina-based manufacturer Incitec, says that the interprovincial barriers are becoming increasingly a hindrance to Ottawa's recent efforts to allow free-flow of capital and greater access to international markets. Canada is one of 100 countries competing as contestants to liberalize world trade under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). And earlier this month, it signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (with the United States and Mexico). "Here we are negotiating trade agreements with other countries and we restrict the flow of goods within the country," Phillips said. "It's ludicrous."

Many business representatives, from sectors as diverse as trucking and banking, say that barriers to trade among the provinces have to come down for Canada to continue to be competitive. A wide-open market, which would permit the free movement of labor, capital and services, as well as goods, within Canada, would also help to strengthen East-West ties, they say. But dismantling the complex tapestry of legislative barriers, including such deliberate ones as supply-management marketing boards, which set provincial quotas, and such unconstitutional ones as differing licensing requirements for skilled and professional

labor, has proved to be extremely difficult. Indeed, when the first ministers met at Charlottetown last week to put the finishing touches on a constitutional accord, they could only settle on a dramatically watered-down version of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's prized economic package. The agreement-in-principle included interprovincial trade barriers, including four broad exceptions. Among them: the right for provinces to retain trade barriers if they are intended to reduce economic disparities within provinces. After the final meeting, Mulroney told reporters: "I would personally have preferred a better economic clause. But we will eventually get that."

The provinces erected many of the barriers, president of the Business Council on National Issues, which is composed of the chief executives of 150 top Canadian companies. D'Agostino pointed out that Canada's protectionist provincial beer markets opened up only after GATT ruled late last year that Canada had violated terms of the international trade agreement by discriminating against U.S. beer makers. That ruling opened the way for Canadian producers to sell their product in provinces where they do not have beer.

Still, Derek Glard, president of Saint John, N.B.-based Moosehead Breweries Ltd., and that more has to be done to remove the trade barriers. Moosehead, which is the seventh-largest selling-beer company in the United States, became available in Ontario in May when liquor stores began selling it. But Glard said that



Gaudí, a beer-seller in U.S. markets, but hampered by high taxes in Ontario

provincial governments bought goods and services from the lowest bidder, rather than from the bidder with a local address. At the same time, the study says that the elimination of those barriers would save consumers \$1.5 billion a year for beer, wine and agricultural products.

External forces, including Canada's participation in NAFTA, may also help bring down interprovincial trade barriers. "Fiscally, these international agreements will impose external discipline," said Thomas D'Agostino,

environmental and other taxes, which Ontario claims are legal under GATT, have pushed the price of a six-pack of Moosehead to \$4.30, as compared with \$1.35 for regular brands. "It is no longer, 'No, you can't use our system,' but it's getting more expensive," Glard said. "Simplicity was not what was intended."

Businessman Andrew Jackson and that think tank are also about removing the interprovincial barriers to trade. "Some barriers have been removed by public policy goals," said Jackson, former economist with the Canadian Labor Congress in Ottawa. He cited investment funds by British Columbia, Manitoba and Quebec in which investors can obtain provincial tax breaks if they invest in local companies. "In the abstract, these barriers are to the free flow of capital," said Jackson, "but they are useful to encourage new industry."

Despite Jackson's assertions, some provincial rules and regulations were considered discriminatory. The patchwork of provincial regulations governing the trucking industry, for one, is a persistent problem for almost anyone who needs to transport goods. David Bentley, president of the Ontario Trucking Association, said that after a three-year, \$3-million study in the mid-1980s, the western provinces and Quebec harmonized their regulations so that truck-trailers could be a maximum 83 feet long. But Ontario limits trucklengths to 75 feet. Bentley said: "It is easier to run a truck from Toronto to the Mexican border than it is to run a truck across Canada."

Like trucking, the financial services industry is bravely—and unevenly—expanding. "It is a nightmare at times," said John Petrone, senior vice-president of compliance at the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce. Petrone cited provincial rules governing telephone fees for customers, ranging from the bank's instant funds. In British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario, state-of-the-art telephone calls made using instant funds must be answered by a bank employee, regardless of who sent the funds. The result: the province where the calls are located. After the calls leave one of those provinces, they have to be answered by someone who is merely registered in the province, thereby allowing the bank to route calls to a central office after hours rather than staffing an office at such a prevalence. But Saskatchewan and Quebec, he said, require that any calls, regardless of the time of day, must be answered by someone registered and resident in the province. And other provinces have different rules.

That provincial shambles, even with such relatively innocuous issues as information fees, comes with a price tag. "The cost of that regulation gets passed on," said Petrone, "either to the customer who pays the securities or to the user who sells them." But because local producers who face out-of-state competition tend to be more vocal than consumers, it may be a long time before the provinces agree to free trade at home.

BARBARA WICKENS with
BRIANNA DALGLOSH in Toronto

Business Notes

COMING PARTNERS

Air Canada and a group of investors led by Texas businessman David Bonderman formed the partnership for a \$9-billion entrepreneurial investment firm, Inc. which has been operating under legal bankruptcy protection since 1992. Meanwhile, Canadian Airlines International Ltd. president Steven Jenkins urged the airline's 15,000 employees to accept \$150 million in the company over the next three years through salary deductions. Jenkins said that would encourage American Airlines Inc. to invest in the airline and to help it obtain assistance from the British Columbia and Alberta governments.

DIAMOND STORES IN THE ROUGH
People's Jewellers Ltd., Canada's largest jeweler, reported a \$159.4-million loss for the year ended March 31 after writing off an \$148.6-million investment in Dallas-based Zale Corp., the largest jewelry store chain in the United States. People's purchased a 47-per-cent stake in the company in 1986, but Zale has lost money since then, and filed for bankruptcy protection in January.

A DEADLINE FOR WESTAR

U.S. Supreme Court Justice Bruce Macdonald announced that he would revoke bankruptcy protection for troubled Westar Mississauga Ltd., one of British Columbia's largest coal producers, on Aug. 21. He added that "unless something pretty dramatic happens," creditors will likely force Westar to shut down and sell its assets.

HIGHWAY BRAINS RAISE

Province Minister Bruce Maloney has been a more effective deficit fighter than Premier George Price. Both men were elected in 1986, according to a study by the Toronto-based investment firm Bama Fly Ltd. Over the past four years, Canadian federal budget deficits on a national accounts basis, which includes such non-budgetary revenues as oil seigniorage, provincial fuel contributions, has increased by 12 per cent, to \$11.2 billion, while the U.S. deficit has nearly doubled to \$33.6 billion. But the study added that Maloney's superior record stems from tax increases, rather than spending restraints.

A PARTIAL BEER VICTORY

A Canadian-U.S. trade dispute resolution panel ruled that three U.S. breweries, Stroh Brewery Co., Pabst Brewery Co. and G. Heileman Brewing Co., damaged their local beer sales in British Columbia in 1991. But the five-member panel also said that the damping likely did not cause any financial harm to Canadian brewers.

Salinas's Mexican Standoff

Mexico's leader is gambling that his people will support free trade

Behind the glowering, white-suited walls of the presidential palace in downtown Mexico City, a massive renovation project is under way. It's another chance to show off scores of world-class construction equipment, expand stores and banks as they navigate the laissez-faire process. The construction work at Los Pinos, headquarters of Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, is in keeping with the spirit of his six-year term in office. Since he took over the presidency in December 1988, Salinas, 43, has launched a nationwide campaign to modernize Mexico's economy, socialist and political system. That initiative has its final front on Aug. 12 with the final drafting of a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) among Canada, the United States and Mexico.

The apparent success of Salinas's reform drive to reverse decades of protection, uncompetitive industry, corrupt politics and abject poverty has earned him international acclaim as well as strong domestic support. When he took office, it was not a chance, if fateful, strategy designed to transform Mexico from a backwater with a pre-Columbian agricultural system, into a modern, competitive industrial nation.

One of the first controversial steps Salinas took was to privatize hundreds of state-owned businesses, including the oil company Pemex, and to open Mexico's long-protected borders to foreign business. Under the Brady Plan, he reorganized Mexico's foreign debt of more than \$100 billion into a series of international sovereign bonds. These, working with banker and tailor, under an agreement known in Mexico as "Pacts," Salinas managed to slash inflation to the current level of about 10 per cent from 124 per cent in 1988. Now, NAFTA, which formalizes Salinas's emphasis on trade-based economic prosperity, forms a key part of his overall strategy.

But critics of the Salinas regime note that the benefits of the much-touted economic and politi-



Salinas in Los Pinos office: leaders sticking to pursuit of deals

cal reforms have been slow to affect the lives of Mexico's large, unorganized population. It is estimated that about half of the country's 80 million people live in poverty. Concerns have also been expressed about the lag in political reforms to implement the strokes made on the economic front. Although Mexican politicians may only hold office for a single six-year term, the same political party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party, has been in power for 62 years without interruption. Government critics also claim that political corruption and a weak democratic tradition could ultimately undermine any economic gains.

Analysts of the Mexican situation, however, point out that Mexico does not share the same democratic tradition and political structure as the rest of North America—and that it is extremely difficult to judge that country by foreign standards. While it is a one-party state, Mexico has witnessed under the strong hand of an authoritarian and interventionist state and a long tradition of political debate and opposition has never fully developed as it results, analysts note.

One international leader, who departed Mexico when it defaulted on its foreign debt in 1982, sees perhaps a more decisive indicator of Mexico's newfound status in the international financial arena. Unlike three years ago, Mexico has returned as a participant in global capital markets, and international investment now borders and borders are once again feeling more at peace.

For his part, Salinas has also displayed a consistent willingness to create new links. After immediately following the signing of the MERCOSUR free trade document, Mexico signed a Free Trade Agreement with six other Latin American nations. By year-end, a trade pact with Venezuela and Colombia is expected to be complete, and very preliminary talks with Argentina have also been launched recently.

Last week, Mexican Senator Edder Díaz McMurtry interviewed Salinas in his office at Los Pinos. A compact man, he sat on the edge of his slate-blue leather armchair, gesturing to emphasize his points, firmly convincing his apparently abundant energy and spirit of a leader who means that the more changes he makes, the more there is to accomplish. The only note of odds with his conservative grey suit was a black plastic money's watch. *Esencia*

Salinas's bid the recent North American free trade negotiations take longer to conclude than you had anticipated?



Farmers in Chicontepec, Mexico: the task of modernizing a paternalistic state with a pre-Columbian farming system

Salinas: Some people kept on asking why it took so long to conclude the negotiations. Others asked why we weren't taking more time to go on with the negotiations. My answer was always the same: My negotiations were going to take as long as required to get a good agreement. And we derived a great experience from the Canada-U.S. free trade negotiations, and that took three years to conclude.

MacLean's: Was there ever a point at which you doubted that NAFTA would be accomplished?

Salinas: Yes, there were some times when the talks got pretty rough. When we had to draw the line very clearly—what was part of the negotiations and what was not. And those were tense moments at a very intense negotiating process.

MacLean's: Until quite recently, you said that

you preferred to deal with the issue of North America's free trade on a sector-by-sector basis rather than through a comprehensive agreement. When did you think change and why?

Salinas: At first, we were hesitant to go along with a North American free trade area. But things changed dramatically in 1990, the first year of my presidency. When I visited Germany in May, 1990, I heard what I call a forecast of Western Europe's political changes in Central and Eastern Europe. I knew then that Mexico was facing very tough competition for the scarce capital required to finance

growth and development. And the only way to be better positioned to compete for such capital was to be part of one of the huge trading blocs being created in the world. We happened to be neighbors with one of them. And I decided to reverse my previous position.

MacLean's: With the framework of NAFTA now in place, do you believe that the relatively limited trade between Canada and Mexico will end?

Salinas: I am convinced that trade between Canada and Mexico will not end. In fact, probably our previous experience with free trade between Mexico and Chile showed us that even in a few months, trade could more than double. We haven't targeted specific sectors for increased trade. We prefer to let our business community and our exports make the decisions in a pragmatic, specific area of trade.

A MEXICAN SNAPSHOT

	1988	1991
Gross domestic product	\$210 billion	\$304 billion
Population	83 million	88 million
Median age of population	19	19
Unemployment	26 per cent	3 per cent*
Inflation	114 per cent	19 per cent
Literacy	88 per cent	88 per cent
TV sets	107 per 1,000 persons	117 per 1,000 persons
Motor vehicles	60 per 1,000 persons	60 per 1,000 persons

*Measured for the approximately 60 per cent of the population living above the official poverty line.

with Canada. Let the market decide. MacLea's: Is it reassuring for Mexico to have Canada as a geopolitical counterweight in the context of NAFTA?

Sakane: Well, it's very difficult to lose close to the most powerful country in the world and we have had a very traumatic historical experience. Every time we have quarreled and斗ed among ourselves, we have lost part of our territory to our neighbor to the north. That is why we are interested in strengthening our alliances, and sometimes that increases strength and development. Periodically, we will strengthen our alliance by getting

closer economic relationship with our neighbor to the north. And at the same time, yes, we believe that a closer relationship with Canada will strategically improve our relations with the United States.

MacLea's: Is there concern in Mexico, as there has been in Canada, about the impact of closer economic ties to the United States?

Sakane: Mexico has 3,000 years of culture behind it. That gives us a tremendous self-confidence in approaching this relationship with the United States.

MacLea's: Do you understand why the pro-

tectionist lobby against NAFTA in the United States is so pressurized?

Sakane: I understand that the worst possible time to negotiate a free trade agreement is during an economic recession, because everybody tries to blame their problems on free trade instead of domestic problems. But it seems to me that U.S. opponents of NAFTA are focusing on the wrong side of the problem. Americans are losing their jobs to low-paid workers, but to workers who get better wages, like those in Germany and Japan. It's a matter of competitiveness. And we in Mexico do not want to get into NAFTA with lower wages. We want higher wages for our workers to be competitive.

MacLea's: How do you counter the criticism of those who claim that Mexico is an unequal partner in NAFTA, because of its inferior environmental and labor standards?

Sakane: We are committed to strengthening our environmental and labor standards not because of NAFTA, but so that our children will inherit a better environment, a better country. To those who claim that it is an uneven partnership, I would say that it is not equitable that these economic gains are suddenly taken by the smaller, less developed economy to be on an equal basis and to participate in this NAFTA as an equal footing.

MacLea's: How long do you expect that it will take for the economic benefits of free trade—in terms of real wages and standards of living—to flow through to the average Mexican citizen?

Sakane: Our analysis indicates that the benefits of NAFTA will be felt mostly by the next generation. But, nevertheless, short-term benefits will flow from the fact that the market will increase along with the opportunities for job creation in Mexico. But I have stated very clearly that the current strategy will only be successful if simultaneously has a differentiated social program. So today in Mexico, even without NAFTA, the benefits of economic recovery are already being felt by Mexicans, even though there is still much we have to explore and implement in place.

MacLea's: Is Mexico's infrastructure currently adequate to support an influx of new industry under NAFTA?

Sakane: We have invested more in infrastructure. We have to upgrade the quality of our infrastructure—in telecommunications, in agriculture, in urban development. And that's precisely why we want to enter NAFTA, because additional growth will allow us to have more resources to invest more in infrastructure. Unfortunately, this partnership doesn't come with funding from the developed countries to upgrade our infrastructure, as happened with Spain and Portugal when they entered the European Community. They got more than \$10 billion in funding to upgrade their infrastructure.

MacLea's: Now that you have a draft agreement for North American free trade, what is the next priority on your economic agenda?

Sakane: We still have some steps ahead in NAFTA. We congressional approval in each

country—that's very important. My task in the months and years ahead is to consolidate the broad process of reform in Mexican economic reform, political reform, environmental reform.

MacLea's: Do you feel a sense of urgency in the term of your presidency down to its one clause in 1997?

Sakane: I would say that the world is in a hurry and we must try to work at the same pace. And as long as the world is in a hurry and as long as Mexicans want answers to their fundamental demands, I will continue working at that pace.

MacLea's: What are Mexico's objectives for free trade with other Latin American countries?

Sakane: We have already concluded a free trade agreement with Chile. And Colombia and Venezuela and Costa Rica have expressed a commitment to conclude one before the year is over. Bolivia has also made it clear that it is anxious to join. The whole of Latin America is going towards free trade and we certainly will be part of that process and to include them in NAFTA.

MacLea's: Do you have any concerns about the effects that such a rapid and profound economic change will have on the population of Mexico?

Sakane: Mexicans have been adapting to economic change for more than 10 years. The 1980s were a decade of stagnation and high inflation in Mexico while the economy went through a very drastic adjustment. But the most important change taking place in Mexico today is the one relating to mentality and attitudes, the way Mexicans look at themselves and themselves in relation to the rest of the world.

MacLea's: Do you think that there is an adequate understanding of Mexican society and history on the part of the people of Canada and the United States?

Sakane: It's a paradoxical thing that we live so close and know each other so little. But free trade, I am convinced, will stimulate a closer knowledge of one another.

MacLea's: Is there an economic model which you have followed?

Sakane: There are no models—each country has its own traditions, institutions, historical developments. We have applied an economic strategy that has been good for us. And we are willing to share it with anyone who asks for it, that is, I mean more than no models—over with Latin America. Each country has its own characteristics.

MacLea's: What is the president's personal achievement, to date, of your term as president of Mexico?

Sakane: The light I see in the eyes of many Mexicans. The hope. It's not that we have solved all the problems—we have many left, but they have hope. Let's say that we have gone through many very difficult times. And today, even though we still have difficulties ahead, Mexicans have self-confidence. Confidence in themselves, in their capacity to overcome their problems. □

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Brian Mulroney as the new Macdonald

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

I took Volpi Marlowe of *The Edmonton Sun* to point out the obvious: the column following the conclusion of the recent Ottawa constitutional crisis, she identified the negotiator who had carried the day "like it or not," she wrote. "His deal is approved by the people of Canada. Brian Mulroney will go down in history as one of our most important prime ministers. That's only fair. If he takes the rap for his government's perceived failure, he should get the applause for its apparent successes. Even if today's Canadians never acknowledge Mulroney's achievements, it's Mulroney's grandchildren who will."

Ahead alone among Canadian commentators, Mulroney gave credit for the agreement that was hammered out to the politicians who made it possible. In her column, she explains how hard it was: "Don't think this is easy to say," she cautions. "People of Brian Mulroney have become the one great tribe of Canadian journalism and inevitably brings 'between' chipping stones and odd soles from colleagues."

That reaction was not shared by those who were in the room during the five-day Ottawa negotiations. One politician not able to acknowledge Mulroney's negotiations skills is Prince Edward Island's Jim Flaherty, currently heading the premiers' conference. "I don't belong to the same political party as the Prime Minister," he said last week. "I don't disagree with a lot of the policies of the Conservative government, but I have to compliment him on this issue."

His leadership on the national unity question has been outstanding. He handled the negotiations admirably with one of Canada's most experienced negotiators, and that is the only Canada, he never gave in to people and listened to every argument, even though it was time to have agreed.

The third lesson I learned about him was the forbidding tactics of a union representative, right back to Meacham Lake, and Gia, "and I kept hearing about his pressure tactics and that all of us would be put in a pressure cooker. None of that happened—at least I

thought a group of rated partisans with sharply divided provincial mandates and loyalties, ultimately made agreement possible."

Mulroney's method worked partly because of Joe Clark's magnificent 14-month effort in creating goodwill for Ottawa among several doubting constitutuaries. He not only persuaded the premiers and aboriginal leaders that the PC government genuinely wanted to reach a deal that would reflect their concerns and would be good for everybody, but he won over the participants (including himself) so that the very idea of continuing the negotiations for another, unspecified term became a threat to the PC.

Looking back on those crucial days, both at Her Majesty's Table and the later meetings in the Pearson building, there were at least half a dozen times when the negotiations faltered and almost went off the rails. That was where Mulroney's chess-playing skills came in. Sometimes it was his timely interventions that saved the day more often than shifty play on the part of the participating negotiators against themselves, allowing them to face their own way to his conclusions. Amongst all the talk of constitutional crises around the table was that of Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells.

The first run at reform took place in 1986, when Canada's politicians decided it was time to patriate the British North America Act, since we were one of the only independent nations on earth whose Constitution was still lodged in our former mother country. That meant bypassing Westminster's permission every time we wanted to pass an amendment. Over the next 15 years, 11 major initiatives were launched to discover some magic formula that would satisfy French and English Canada. None was ever found. In a last-minute attempt to assure its place as history, Pierre Trudeau finally brought the Constitution in 1982, though he could not win Quebec's agreement.

Brian Mulroney has now succeeded where Pierre Trudeau failed. He is, at last, the first Canadian prime minister since Sir John A. Macdonald who initially brought the country together, and has negotiated a major constitutional accommodation between French and English Canada.

That doesn't mean that all our basic problems have been resolved. It is true that with our constitutional accord, we would have no country. But the most perfect of constitutions will not light our way to the millennium unless we can find a way to make-start the economy. Only through the renewal of the spirit of capitalist investment that has always been the foundation of our economic strength can we ensure that this century will prove a happy buying again—and that, in turn, will earn the support of the Canadian public and our budget deficit.

To think of Macdonald and Mulroney in the same breath is a leap of logic that will baffle and even anger most Canadians. Yet the two men (who also help to confirm the logic) that made it possible for the premiers to confirm the reality, that at this particular moment in Canadian history, the national interest had to move ahead of their own, had staked it all in a race among what is, by definition,

He skilfully played off the premiers' objections against themselves, allowing them to find their own way to his conclusions

didn't seem it. At this most recent session, again, he didn't threaten to make upbore to exert undue pressure, and didn't try to negotiate any trade-offs by hating, "Look, you people need money for this or that from the feds, and if you don't play ball, you won't get it." There was none of that. It was a genuine attempt to serve as a conciliator. And it worked.

Other premiers were equally generous in their praise, but most Canadians feel so buried out on the Constitution that we were just glad, at least temporarily, to have it over with. That understandably sour mood should not be allowed to obscure the reality of the political achievement in making a constitutional settlement that will last for a national reckoning.

What Mulroney did, according to those who were in the negotiating room with him, was to as much honour home any specific demands as he could in the context of the debates. That meant that he had to make some difficult decisions. But in contrast, he created the structures and provided the leadership that made it possible for the premiers to confirm the reality, that at this particular moment in Canadian history, the national interest had to move ahead of their own, had staked it all in a race among what is, by definition,

PEOPLE

Rocking royals

He calls her "Squidgy" and declares his love. He calls her "staring" and complains that her husband makes her life "torture," and the British tabloids are calling another royal scandal. The furor erupted when the *Sun* newspaper, a chronicler of difficulties in the marriage of Diana, Princess of Wales, and Prince



Blanc: an alleged 'love chat'

Charles, published the transcript of a mobile-phone conversation that a claims a hair-roots operator had taped between Diana and marketing executive James Gilbey. Buckingham Palace, already reeling from published photos of a liaison Diana of York, estranged wife of Prince Andrew, declined to comment on the tape's authenticity. But Britain could judge for themselves: the photo showed a Sun reporter to the recording.

He says, she says

After feeding through the news media for almost two weeks, filmmaker Woody Allen and actress Mia Farrow met face-to-face for the first time in the bitter custody battle over their three children. The couple met privately with



A call for change

Brenden Fraser says that he "just wasn't they people." And in the new movie *School Ties*, Fraser stars as a working-class Jewish teenager confronting racism at a prestigious prep school in 1950s New England. The 28-year-old actor, 23, who went to high school at Toronto's Upper Canada College, says that he hopes the film will "help bring about some sort of change, in order to take steps towards healing the problems of society." But he added: "You're not trying to save the world. Please, I'm just an actor."

Fraser: 'I'm just an actor'

A GOOD TIME TO SLING ZINGERS

In his latest book, *It's a Jungle Out There, Why Do I Have to Know the Score?*, Toronto Star columnist Joey Stahr pokes fun at nearly everything—from political correctness to baseball players to troubled Hollywood romances. And Stahr says that despite the constitutional accord between Ottawa and the premiers last month, Anglo-France friction will continue to provide fodder for his offbeat wits. "This is wonderful time to be a humorist," added Stahr, 46. "Every time they go into a locked room, they come out with a new idea."

Breaking in

Two years ago, Deborah Wright began attending junior hockey games in Ottawa and keeping a record of players whose talents impressed her. That passion has paid off this month, when the San Jose Sharks hired her to track Quebec hockey talent, the became the NHL's first female scout. Wright, 26, and that the other scouts have given her a warm reception—although, she added, one of them did tell her that "the only place for women in hockey is as secretaries." Said Wright: "But lately, when I see her he just takes hockey, so I guess he's got over that little misconception."



Wright: 'Little misconception'



taken by Allen. But while Allen, 56, and Farrow, 42, kept silent in public, his 91-year-old father, Martin Koenigsberg, entered the fray—and blamed Farrow's mother, actress Maureen O'Sullivan, 42, for the scandal. Koenigsberg told the *New York Post* that Farrow is "a nice girl," but added: "I think her mother put her up to all of that."

CANADA 1892

Portrait of a promised land

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

As part of this year's celebration of Canada's 125th birthday, author and Maclean's columnist Peter C. Newman, with photographer Peter Christopherson, have produced a new book that dramatically evokes the national spirit of a century ago: Canada 1892: Portrait of a Promised Land. (Opposite) Newman's reconstruction of a bygone age with Christopherson's color photographs of historical sites as they now appear. Excerpts

In the history of every country, there comes a pivotal moment when urban future overtakes its rural past. Canada in 1892 was experiencing just such a time. Until then, the large, low land had seemed blank more than a broad geographical waste, silent and inaccessible, its sparse population living reluctant claims to the shoulders of its shores, the ebb and flow of its rivers and the lags of its mountains.

By 1892, the embryonic dominion had begun the tumultuous painful time of its maturing. With the recently completed Canadian Pacific Railway tying the country together, the empty territories were beginning to fill up, and the place-names on the map started to denote not just trees or dog collars, but expanding settlements, along with the names and extent of commerce. Wagons were growing into teams, teams into teams, and a half-dozen city-states were emerging from the country.

Modern Canadians walking the streets of Montreal or Toronto, Quebec City, Halifax or Victoria in 1892 would witness a far different world from the one they knew now. And yet, around here and there would be familiar landmarks. Architecturally, L'Assomption and the port at Lévis was a significant water-

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at her wonderful history of the period, *The Nineties* (1986), noted June Caldwell

shed—some of its best buildings became a part of the Canadian heritage. They included Toronto's Old City Hall, York City and Queen's Park, the Old Post Office in Quebec City, Woodside Station in Montreal, various buildings in Vancouver's Gastown and Cambie Street at Victoria. Such popular period fashion as Richardsonian Romanesque and the classic set the styles for Canada's public and private buildings for many years to come, and helped to characterize the nation's streets.

The 1890s transformed Canada's physical appearance, turning the silent dominion into a web of urban and industrialized land, other forces were operating on the recently united Confederation—trends and events that would not fit easily within its borders and draw it into foreign arenas beyond them.

The Nineties witnessed

droUGHTS AND BOMBS, GOLD RUSHES AND MIGRATION, PUNISHED MEN AND MURDERED WOMEN, SPURNING HOUSES AND KIOSKED BUDGET GETS.

Political-provincial relations in 1892 proved immensely combustible, with Quebec and Ontario fed up with having to subsidize the poorer provinces ("the shoddy and patches of Confederation"). The premiers were minded by one another, their marriage with Ontario's, every provocation. True to form, the Western premiers were particularly upset about encroaching English fishing boats.

Spurred by the ruling of the United Kingdom's Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, federal powers were being drastically decentralized so that most Ottawa initiatives seemed fruitless. Economic issues were tough, with Canada suffering its share of a worldwide recession. Industries that had been built up under the high-tariff National Policy (which had kept out most competing American goods) found they could not compete and reverted to layoffs and consolidations. The only solution, though, involved a both major parties whinged, was "unrestricted reciprocity" (thus trade

with the United States.

Aboriginal relations were undergoing a new kind of "decolonization." French-Canadian leaders, in particular, were growing impatient, largely only by the success of politics," concluded John Saywell in his study of the 1890s.

"Saywell was widespread, finding outlets in the traditional French-English and Catholic-Protestant conflicts, as hostility to any strangers in the land, and it sharp revolts among Protestant sons. The rest of the Nineties was rough and disorderly." Reflecting that mood, former Quebec premier Pierre Courtemanche had observed, "Quebec and French, we drift by a double flight of states towards the

colonies resuscitated as they were, without knowing each other, without hating each other, and without even seeing each other except on the landing of ships."

During a massive reorganization of the Canadian party out of much antagonism between English-Canada's fledgling bourgeoisie establishment and Quebec's Catholic majority attached to the search of his soul. When Macdonald, they support came largely from manufacturers happy with the harsh tariffs of Sir John's National Policy. Even though the majority of these industrialists were rampant Protectionists, they largely joined with the Pope's representatives in French Canada to sit under the umbrella of Macdonald's still progressive conservatism, rooted by his opposition to the forces of liberal ascendancy that by 1892 were beginning to sweep the country.

Perhaps the attraction as a politician was partly based on the fact that he seemed as vulnerable as the raw and still-wobbly dominion itself—barely able to stand on his own feet after repeated bouts with his favorite brand of

Canada 1892: *Portrait of a Promised Land* (published by McClelland & Stewart Inc. and Prentice-Hall Canada Limited). Text copyright © 1992 by Peter C. Newman. Photographs copyright © 1992 by Peter Christopherson.



the donor ran, yet somehow surviving with split unknown. His greatest strength was not being there, preventing survival—his own and his country's.

In the last decade of his life, Macdonald spent his increasingly infrequent sober hours cycling, hiking and inspiring the visitors to follow his winding path to glory. He may have viewed the new world he was creating through bloodshot eyes, but he possessed Canada's ownmost chunk of geography with the bushy-wisdom of a man with a million miles on his motor.

By the time the 1881 election rolled around, Macdonald, then in his 77th year, had spent half a century in the tortuous disarray of a political process to create that those who actually followed its few rules of ethical conduct were judged to be either stupid or weak. Macdonald himself had made so many compromises to keep his country and his party together that he could no longer be sure where he himself stood on any issue.

As he prepared to face the voters one last time, the country had never seemed so troubled and so divided. Nova Scotia had begun to talk secession and in fact had formally voted to leave Confederation. There was dissatisfaction everywhere about everything, so that less than 25 years after Canadian Confederation, the Dominion's future appeared as uncertain as ever.

In the face of such high political stakes, and while holding his own deteriorating health, Macdonald at the start of the 1881 election looked not so much old as dead, kept going only by increasingly frequent doses of booze, the ravaged biography of his face resembling nothing so much as the weathered rule of an ancient amateur golfer.

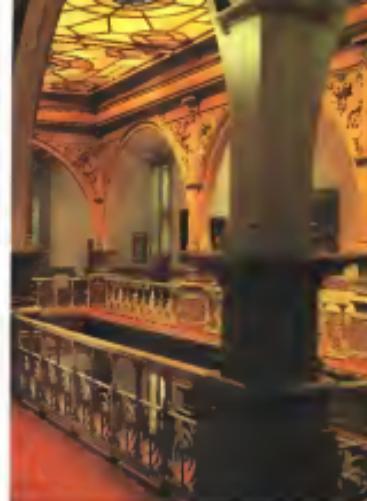
There really was no issue other than Macdonald himself, although the Tories were not above attacking Wilfrid Laurier's Liberals as traitors for laying with senators to the United States (while themselves secretly trying to negotiate a new lease of reciprocity with Washington). When he asked Governor General Lord Stanley to dissolve Parliament and call an election for March 5, Macdonald penned a public letter that laid out his position: "For myself, my course is clear. A British subject I was born—a British subject I will die. With my utmost effort, with my last breath, will I oppose this wicked treason which attempts by such means and mercenary forces to have our people from their allegiance." That statement was widely interpreted precisely for what it was meant to be: not an assertion of imperial support, but a declaration of Canadian patriotism. It worked.

The Canadian Manufacturers Association, raving as behind the old man Sir Wilfrid Van Horne, president of the Canadian Pacific Railway, assured Macdonald that "the CPR vote will be practically unanimous"—an surprising given that the CPR had been obstructed in "They Governess on Wheels." Macdonald wriggled himself to the Old Chief in power, they wondered what 1882 would bring them. It would be a significant dissolved year for both Canada and the world. In Britain, the Liberals under William Gladstone won a slim electoral victory, while Keir Hardie became the first Labour member of Parliament. Revived Slave patrols in Mrs. Warren's Profession and Robert Rupe's Raging brought out his Bassano and Balsich. In the United States, Benjamin Harrison Cleveland was the presidential favorite of the McKinley Tint, which could have been a Credit. Nygma magazine began publishing in New York City, and Hitchcock's *Aladdin* was the earliest strike in American literary history in clubbing. Puccini's much-maligned *La Bohème* and *Madame Butterfly* were first performed. Andrew Carnegie's Homestead works, known as the "Tug of War" because what was lost of his health, those months later, on June 8, 1882, he was dead.

Macdonald responded apparently election night, granting Macdonald a 27% margin—a larger share of the popular vote than he had received in 1877. But the campaign broke what was left of his health. Those months later, on June 8, 1882, he was dead.

Macdonald with the giving of such massive, but

thus seemingly effortless, disregard of party legis-



East wing of Ontario legislature, completed in 1892. (Below) Montreal City Hall. A century ago, the square was a traditional French open market, but the colonne celebrated British naval hero Lord Nelson.

lature, assumed Sir John's death as if a British subject had been released from their very throats. Of the many obituaries, none was more moving than that of Macdonald's political opponent, Laurier. "The place of Sir John A. Macdonald in this country was so large and so absorbing," the Liberal leader told the Commons, "that it is almost impossible to conceive that the politics of this country—the life of this country—will continue without him."

As Canadians faced the first year in memory without the Old Chief in power, they wondered what 1882 would bring them. It would be a significant dissolved year for both Canada and the world. In Britain, the Liberals under William Gladstone won a slim electoral victory, while Keir Hardie became the first Labour member of Parliament. Revived Slave patrols in Mrs. Warren's Profession and Robert Rupe's Raging brought out his Bassano and Balsich. In the United States, Benjamin Harrison Cleveland was the presidential favorite of the McKinley Tint, which could have been a Credit. Nygma magazine began publishing in New York City, and Hitchcock's *Aladdin* was the earliest strike in American literary history in clubbing. Puccini's much-maligned *La Bohème* and *Madame Butterfly* were first performed. Andrew Carnegie's Homestead works, known as the "Tug of War" because what was lost of his health, those months later, on June 8, 1882, he was dead.

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The Byrnes Gates or Bremner Block in Vancouver, built in 1886, was one of the city's first redbrick buildings. For many years, it housed the Bremner Hotel, one of Vancouver's few luxuries that charged more than \$1 a night.



diesel engine and the automatic telephone switchboard were perfected.

In Canada that year, Quebec Premier Honoré Mercier was arrested on corruption charges and poet Pauline Johnson began her public readings. In a salubrious-familiar pattern, the Canadian way to our way to achieving world renown—in the United States James Naismith would invent basketball while working at the YMCA in Springfield, Mass., and actress Maude Adams (Leila Koerber of Cobourg, Ont.) made her first appearance on Broadway. Lord, silver and zinc deposits were discovered at Keweenaw, B.C., and war was underway on the masking of the world's largest chrome deposit in Tressin, Det.

The country's 1882 gross national product was about \$460 million, and Canadians had booked away \$35 million in savings accounts. But the original post-Confederation dream, which had envisioned a prosperous nation stretching from sea to sea, had yet to come true. The Northwest would contribute to better money in Central Canada and East Eastern Canada even more. Fewer than a quarter of a million of us had chosen to settle on the western prairies. The great wave of immigration that would use 1.5 million Europeans forming Canada's prairies was still a decade away.

As Canada headed into a uncertain decade, memories of precious times past take on a very special glow, keeping pride alive in our country and ourselves. But full memories do not repre-

senting social behavior early in this century, had yet to be introduced, but life was becoming decidedly easier. Toilets were rapidly getting used to lysolene, central heating, indoor toilets, bathtubs were to keep track of the cost, Lysolene machines, kerosene, ball-tube newspaper photos, stone-grounded floursheds and, above all, electric lights, streetcars and telephones.

The early phones were limited with a certain degree of suspicion. Phone subscribers were sure that somehow the talking machines were conveying false information, and for many years after they were introduced, Canadians used telephones mainly to make appointments to visit their friends in person. By 1882, almost every major Canadian had electrified streets—except, many citizens were still afraid of electricity.

Canada, then in new, wet masked by an ability to endure—to survive a long climate and worse policies. That still has always been a Canadian lesson. Concentrating too much on survival, however, often detracts imagination and creativity—those intangible leaps that allow individuals and countries to reach for greatness. Yet survivors are the winners in any game, and it is because Canada's survival is threatened in 1993, as it was in 1882, that the goals and details of what happened in that distant year are significant.

As Canada heads into a uncertain decade, memories of precious times past take on a very special glow, keeping pride alive in our country and ourselves. But full memories do not repre-



such thoughts; they must be preserved and honored.

Anniversaries such as the current celebration of Canada's 125th birthday help renew the past in a highly selective way, we decide what to remember and choose what to forget. That allows alternatives for the present and decision priorities for the future.

Writing about 1888 is an problematic venture. It is a time as close to us as our grandparents or great-grandparents. This, after all, is a country only four millennia old, and history is nothing more, and nothing less, than those memories refined—the record of collective and individual encounters between character and circumstance. If we can listen, we can hear the faint echoes of the people who walked our streets, worked our farms and fished our waters a hundred years ago.

The decades between 1888 and 1988 are haunting. Facing the darts of a new century, as we do, some a hundred years ago chapter and verse to believe the next century would belong to them.

In 1888, that seemed like an ultimate dream. The country was like some young giant stoked by an adolescent's feelings of strength and desire to be the future. The dreams and the principles of its adulthood, the reality crept into the dream, too. The extremes of wealth and poverty, economic hard times, the unceasing fissures between English and French, Protestants and Catholics, Federal-protectionist federalists—and other trends were threatening to tear the nation apart. "We have come to the history of this young country when genuine dislocation seems at hand," lamented Lester, the son of a poor minister, sounding much like any 1988-vintage politician. "How long can the fabric last? Can it last at all?"

Our annual geography, combined with our rigorous demic, has often meant that the nation's collective mood and individual concern are governed more by the rhythm of the changing seasons than by anything the politicians or economists might be scheming.

It is strength that most Canadians are attached to their country not by imperial trumpet calls, but by small, private epiphanies. Yet there is among us—say, as in 1988—a sense of national internal meaning that no matter how agonizing it may feel, shapes Canadians' worth the candle. Hard as we may try to devalue the Canadian experience ("The world needs Canada because if it weren't there," concluded Dave Llewellyn once said), "The Canadian credit and right sense and innate plausibility" our souls are tormented by the simple and.

It is fitting that the city of all the dreams of Wilfrid Laurier, University's library at Hamilton, "Wales sings in my mind like a bell as an undevoted bell," he declared, "I am of Wales and everything I say and dream is framed in that country." In an important country like Canada, which went from being the colony of an empire to becoming the satellite of another—hardly daring to claim nationhood in between—it is essential to illustrate one history not as it might have been, but as it really was. Facing an uncertain future, the value of looking at the past becomes magnified—not only if we learn from it.

In surprising ways, Canada has hardly changed in the past century. Most concerns animating Canadians in 1888 are still with us, and our hope must be to the fact that however threatening these problems might have been they did not defeat us. We are still here to argue—and implement—the solutions. □



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CRIME

Death in a classroom

A lone gunman terrorizes a university

A 26-year-old bullet-pierced Phénix Zagun's abdomen and fractured his left arm, severing two major arteries and destroying a kidney. Four bullets struck Mathieu Dugasian in the head, face and hand. Michael Hopkins was cut down by three shots, fired at short range, into his head, throat and back. Aaron Jean Sober was hit twice, once in the head and once in the side. A single bullet lodged in Étienne Boulanger's thigh. All five victims were employees of Montréal's Concordia University, and all had the misfortune on Aug. 24 to encounter a

Macé Lépine, who subsequently took his own life, left a suicide note in which he accused himself of ruining his life. But if vengeance was behind the Concordia killings, it appeared to be of a different kind.

According to university officials, Fabrikant, who moved to Canada from the Soviet Union in 1979, had been engaged for nearly two years in a bitter, increasingly bitter dispute with Concordia's administrators and his own colleagues in the university's engineering and computer sciences department. An acknowledged authority on mechanical elasticity, a branch of mechanics



Fabrikant (center), an emigrant from the old Soviet Union faces charges

groom who went on a shooting rampage last week at the university's downtown campus.

The gunman appears to have been searching for vengeance," said Pierre Stasiuk, director of the Montreal police department. "He was looking for someone to shoot, and he chose us." And it looks as if most targets were deliberately selected. Police charged Valéry Fabrikant, a 32-year-old Soviet-trained associate professor of engineering with an academic specialty in metal fatigue, with first-degree murder and assault with a deadly weapon. He was also charged with the attempted murder of Sober, who died the next day.

The violent episode was nearly simultaneous of Dec. 6, 1986, rampage in which a man shot and killed 14 women in the University of Montréal's École polytechnique. That gunman,

concerned with the behavior of materials when subjected to stress, was accused of having sexual fantasies of having women submit to his "destructive" force and then to annihilate with "financial corruption and academic plagiarism."

A university spokesman said that Fabrikant had no known legal relatives, gave his whereabouts as unknown and accounted for his colleagues and students who had been in contact with him before and after the rampage. He had no associates at the university and made no valid threats. "Everybody knew the guy had serious psychological problems, but I guess few of us wanted to believe that it could ever spill over into this kind of tragedy," said a Concordia

colleague, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

The deadly shooting erupted on the main floor of the Henry F. Hall Building in the heart of Montréal's business district. Zagun, 48, chairman of Concordia's electrical and computer engineering department, was in serious condition at Montréal General Hospital late last week after undergoing five hours of abdominal surgery. Dugasian, a 52-year-old civil engineering professor, died at the scene, along with Hopkins, 53, an associate professor of chemistry and biochemistry. Sober, 49, an associate professor of mechanical engineering, died in hospital following the assault. Étienne Boulanger, the secretary of Montréal's Sociedad, was hospitalized, escaped relatively unscathed. The 69-year-old woman was released from hospital a day after having her thigh wound treated.

Arraigned at the Cour de Cassation, Fabrikant was taken to hospital briefly on the day after his appearance in court. Fabrikant had last appeared in court in 1983, shortly after arriving in Canada from what was then the Soviet Union. Born in 1950 in Minsk, now the capital of independent Belarus, Fabrikant graduated from the Power Engineering Institute of Moscow with a PhD in applied mathematics and engineering mechanics in 1976. He is married to Maye Soviet, a Soviet immigrant. The couple have two children, aged 8 and 10. Fabrikant had been working for Unisys for several years, and wanted Concordia to count the time he spent working as a researcher at the university as part of his working period for Unisys. But the academics said that the university had refused to agree to this.

During a brief appearance in Quebec Court to face a raft of charges, including charges of murder, Fabrikant complained of his treatment by the police. "They took away my shirt just as I would look ridiculous," he told Judge Micheline Corbeil-Larocque in impeccable English. "And they took away my glasses so I set nothing." He also indicated that "unless I can find a lawyer that shares the ideology of the defense, I will have to represent myself."

The shootings caused a number of troubling issues. Concordia officials, who said that they had warned the police about Fabrikant's potential for violence, were unable to explain why nothing was done to locate his relatives. And Quebec police based a host of questions arising from the fact that he had no known close relatives, including his biological parents—a 38-year-old divorcee and two semi-adoptive siblings, 46 and 35 years old. In 1990 the Sûreté du Québec, the provincial police force, granted Fabrikant a permit to possess the revolver. Although the Sûreté reported subsequent applications by Fabrikant for other permits, his wife, whom a member of a gun club obtained permits for the two semi-automatic pistols following the University of Montréal killing, Ottawa introduced a proposed gun-control law to provide tougher screening for people applying for permits. These measures are due to come into effect Jan. 1, 1991—just in time for the families of the Concordia victims.

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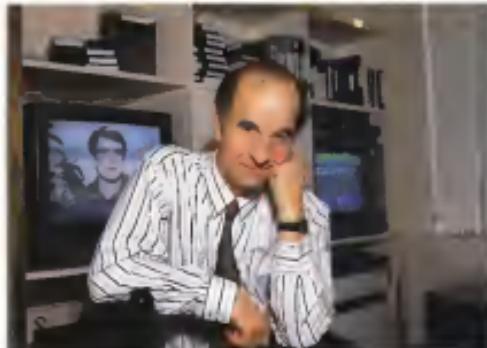
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Ketchell at the CBC: 'We have to move on. It's time now to take the next step.'

BROADCASTING

The end of the road

After 10 years, *The Journal* dies

After 10 years on the air 16 years ago, *The Journal*, CBC-TV's flagship current-affairs show, quickly became the nation's most popular late-night talk show. Its host, Barbara Frum (who died on March 26), and *The Journal*'s in-depth documentaries became the daily viewing staple of almost 1.2 million Canadians. But last week, in a surprise two-page media release, CBC management announced a major shakeup that effectively killed the program. In its place, on Oct. 26, the CBC plans to launch an hour-long but as yet unspecified program linked to an occasionally abbreviated version of *The National* news. What happened to *The Journal*'s staff, and the card-holding current-affairs format that made it so successful, is still up in the air. But Ted Katchell, CBC vice-president of news, current affairs at Newsworld, the all-news channel, told *The Journal* that it is time to leave. *The Journal* news staff said such a tumultuous show "is the kind of show that other people can do."

Although Katchell said that the decision to renew *The Journal* was part of the CBC's long-term restructuring, a source close to the staff insisted to *The Journal* that *The Journal* actually fell victim to a plan of fragile over-extended television and the CBC. Katchell acknowledged that there has been a long debate in the corporation over the relationship between the current-affairs division, which produces such shows as *56th Street* and the news division, which produces *The National*. While *The Journal*'s staff were co-opted on projects at the news' own benefit, they competed against one another, leading to a perception that re-

sources were being wasted. In the end, *The Journal* lost. Said one journal producer who asked not to be identified: "It was highly political. Everyone here believed there was a tremendous struggle over *The Journal*."

It could still be weeks before even journalists at the CBC know what kind of show will replace *The Journal*. In fact, Katchell said that a final outline for the new show is only now being developed. In mid and final January, Executive Producer Michel Starzec and John Owen, the CBC's chief of foreign bureaus, have both drafted proposals for the new show. "Their proposals are brilliant," said Katchell. "It's a matter of narrowing it out now."

Although Katchell was not specific, he did say that Peter Mansbridge, the current anchor of *The National*, will head the new show. An outline of *news@night*, *The National* for 2001, was shown before executives at *The Journal*. In the end, the new show would be one continuous broadcast with the news and current stories running into the remainder of the broadcast. He added that on some nights, *The National* might be only 10 minutes long, and the remainder of the show would take off from there. "There will be a moment at the top," said Katchell. "But I would call it a program, rather than the news and *The Journal*."

The decision to kill *The Journal* also involves CBC Newsweek. Katchell said that Newsweek will have leased off resources and, to ensure that it does, Tony Bannister, chief news editor of *The National*, will now be managing director of Newsweek. Part of his mandate, said Katchell, is to ensure that Newsweek has access to all of *The National*'s news resources. Said Katchell: "Newsweek is moving to its next stage of development, it will be more vigorous and aggressive." Added Bannister: "The goal here is to make sure we are providing the best-quality coverage in all the programs."

In the wake of the sudden changes last week, there were also rumors that Katchell would eventually be moved to Newsweek. Although Katchell said that such a switch could indeed occur, he added that *56th Street*, which broadcasts on cable, does not yet have enough subscribers to support such a move.

And despite being involved in designing the new *56th Street*, who controls *The Journal* and CBC Radio? As it happens, will not be acquired as an ultimate weekly production instead, Katchell said that Starzec will concentrate on making documentary productions for the CBC. And one CBC staff member told *The Journal* that Starzec left an elevator in the CBC's big last year—and the fact that he had lost the fight to save *The Journal*. The source apparently referred to a documentary he made in that country last year—and the fact that he had lost the battle to save *The Journal*. The source writes that because his father had personally selected scores of files through public demonstrations often made without a shred of evidence.

BOOKS

Canada's witch-hunt

The 1950s red scare wounded many Canadians

THE UN-CANADIANS
by Lee Slier
(Greystone, 272 pages, \$18.95)

In a 1967, 58-year-old Morris Slier, a Canadian immigrant and veteran of the Polish War, arrived at Montreal's David Aerport to make a long-awaited trip to Israel. But because he had to change aircraft in New York City, Morris Slier was no longer American customs officials said that he was

a summer camp financed by Communists, the family was denied Canadian citizenship until 1963—12 years after their arrival. The Aer and FBI kept tabs on them for at least a decade.

Now, with the Soviet Union in ruins and the philosophy of Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin almost universally discredited, it is ready to appreciate the passage. Slier and his wife, Ruth, now live in a modest apartment in North America in the 1980s. But Slier's book does that reasonably well, by letting everyday people tell how their lives were altered by iso-



Slier: the government approved the compilation of often inaccurate Blacklists

and for entry to the United States. The same year, Slier's organization had got U.S. authorities to ban the ten-year-old Slier and his family member of the Communist party's youth wing, says his involvement helped her to develop organizational skills, and that a number of party leaders "went into business and did extremely well because of the training they got."

Others are more pragmatic. Maxi Taub, a one-time executive of the Communist party, deems: "In some ways, Canada was worse than the United States during the Cold War." In fact, there is nothing to the book to reveal the vicious anti-Communist Blacklists led by U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy, who almost single-handedly created scores of files through public demonstrations often made without a shred of evidence.

Still, there is disturbing evidence that at various levels, Canadian government leaders approved the compilation of hasty drawn and often inaccurate Blacklists. The worst cases



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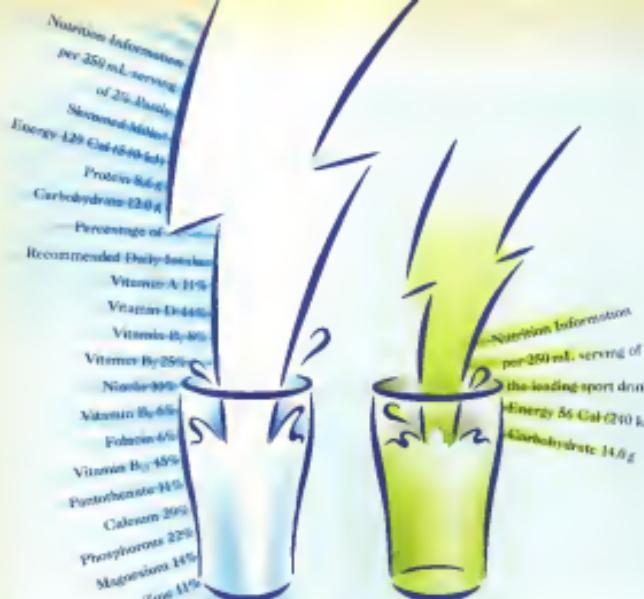
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BOOKS

that Scher's case took place in Quebec, where Premier Maurice Duplessis's infamous Patriotic Law allowed the provincial government to shut down premises if it were being used to spread Communist ideals. Both the provincial and Montreal police established "Red Squads" who raided homes and offices in search of what they termed "revolutionary material." They sometimes used violence against women and children. At other times, their magnitude was comical. Montreal lawyer Albert Marcus recalls that the Red Squad's haste to confiscate anything colored red, led as a result to pressed Communists, they seized copies of *Tour magazine*.

In the rest of Canada, the calypso were often agencies of the federal government. The DDC and the National Film Board both leased or sometimes ended the careers of employees believed to be Communists. The RCMP functioned as a virtual adjunct of the FBI to the point where an American agent had a permanent desk at RCMP headquarters in Ottawa to monitor interrogations of suspected Communists.

There were other offshoots outside government. In its haste to suppress American activists, the Toronto Symphony fired its musicians after U.S. officials had refused them travel visa. One Steven Sherk, recalls that he never had any known contacts with Communist groups. He pretends that his alleged contact occurred when, as a youth, he "performed for a lot of ethnic and religious groups and for any organization where music was supposedly appreciated."

Among others who were harassed were teachers, union organizers and left-leaning Toronto writer Ben-Z. Shek recalls that he was fired from his first job as a teacher in 1958, apparently because of reports that he had opposed the Hungarian uprising of 1956 against the Communists. In fact, Shek, "I was nowhere near Hungary in 1956." As recently as 1984, he still had problems entering the United States.

Of course Communists supporters, few express regret about any of their actions—despite the fact that in the 1950s, being an avowed Communist was aadvantage to a Mexican government that advocated and sometimes endorsed the overthrow of governments around the world. And records show that the secret police paid tens of millions of dollars to worldwide Communist groups—including Canada's.

But the book illustrates the home control because the RCMP and other government ledges could not distinguish between active Communists and mere adherents, including Scher's father, who were more like ideological tourists than fellow travellers. Compared with similar actions at the United States, Canada has little reason to be ashamed. But as some of Scher's wounded innocents make eloquently clear, the fact that Canada conducted a kinder, gentler Witch-hunt than its neighbor in need of its pestil of

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH

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DEPARTMENT
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JUSTICE

The right to lie

The Supreme Court acquits Ernst Zundel

After nine years, two trials, four appeals and millions of dollars at legal costs, there are still no clear verdicts in the bizarre court case of Toronto publisher Ernst Zundel. Ruling on an appeal by Zundel, the Supreme Court of Canada last week struck down in 1988 convictions for knowingly spreading false news about the Holocaust. In a 4-3 decision, the court found that section 181 of the Criminal Code, which

prohibits the spreading of false news, is unconstitutional. The court ruled that section 181, which makes it a criminal offence to publish false news about the Holocaust, violates the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The court also ruled that the section does not serve a "pressing social need" and that the "right to freedom of expression" is more important than the "right to protect the public from false news."

It remained unclear last week whether the



Zundel and supporters charging that accounts of the Holocaust were a Jewish hoax

prohibits the spreading of false news, is unconstitutional because it is an "unjustifiable limit" on the right to freedom of expression contained in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. A few hours after the ruling, Zundel, 53, was proclaiming that historical accounts of the Holocaust, as he estimated six million Jews died at the hands of Germany's Second World War Nazi rulers, were a hoax perpetrated by a Jewish conspiracy. In response, the Canadian Jewish Congress called on Ontario Attorney General Howard Thompson to charge Zundel under section 359 of the Code, which prohibits spreading lies against identifiable groups.

Writing the court's majority decision, Justice Beverley McLachlin noted that, in

Christie, the Victoria-based lawyer who argued Zundel's appeal before the Supreme Court, and that further proceedings against Zundel would amount to "an abuse of process."

Zundel had been convicted twice under the false-news law. The first time was in Toronto in 1985, when he was sentenced to 15 months in jail for publishing a pamphlet which claimed that the Holocaust was a myth perpetrated by an international Jewish conspiracy. The Ontario Court of Appeal overturned that conviction, but ordered a new trial on the ground that the judge had made mistakes. Convicted again in May, 1988, and sentenced to nine months in jail, Zundel went free on \$10,000 bail while appealing his case to the Ontario Court of Appeal.

Last week, Christie and he hoped to be back in Ontario arguing before the Supreme Court on behalf of another client who claims that the Holocaust did not happen. Kriegau, a former school teacher and longtime mayor of Sackville, a small fishing community in central Alberta. In 1985, Kriegau, who taught students that the Holocaust was a Jewish hoax, was convicted at Red Deer, under the Criminal Code's prohibition of promoting hatred against an identifiable group. The Alberta Court of Appeal overturned the conviction, but it was reinstated by the Supreme Court, which held that the section was a "justifiable limitation on Canadians' right to free speech." The Alberta Court of Appeal then ordered a new trial, partly on the ground that trial pre-trial publicity had prejudiced Kriegau's first trial. In July, the Alberta Court of Queen's Bench again convicted Kriegau of the same offence. Now Christie is writing to use of the Supreme Court will hear another appeal, on grounds that Christie and his colleagues correct directions to the jury by trial judge, and the constitutionality of section 318.

Ultimately, Ottawa may have to enact new legislation to ban some kinds of hate literature. In Toronto, Haigouz and that officials of his ministry will meet with their federal counterparts "to discuss drafting a Charter-proof section of the Code" to deal with cases like Zundel's. Added Haigouz: "We don't let know if that is possible." For his part, Alan Borovoy, Toronto-based general counsel for the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, and that he agreed with the Supreme Court's decision because the law posed a threat to legitimate forms of free speech. But he said that no one should interpret the court's decision as "verdicting the equivalence of a speech that is deemed to be a lie and a speech that is not deemed to be a lie." In the end, the Zundel ruling pointed to lawmakers' unconvincing efforts to guarantee freedom of expression while protecting groups of citizens from the slurs of their opponents.

PATRICIA CRIBBOLM



Peltier/ten days of competition among 3,100 athletes from 106 countries

SPORTS

Willing and able

Athletes with disabilities compete in Barcelona

Stephen Brooks can hear the traffic whizzing past him on Highway 4. But he cannot see even a glimmer of the 30-metre barrier can he cross along the edge of the road, past nearly manicured lawns on the outskirts of St. Thomas, in southwestern Ontario. Running beside and slightly behind the 41-year-old blindman, matching each long stride in perfect rhythm, is Stephen's coach and guide, Paul Wills. The runners, holding the ends of a 12-inch-tether, were putting one of their last hard training sessions before the Paralympic Games, which begin this weekend in Barcelona. Brooks can hear the traffic, but the games feature some competition, and the same venues, as in the Olympics, although some sports, like wheelchair basketball and tandem cycling, where a blind cyclist pedals with an sighted athlete, are modified. As more people with disabilities join athletes

who will endure mentally and physically in going to walk away with the gold medal."

The pressure event for able athletes with physical disabilities, the Paralympics, has grown dramatically since the first Games in Rome in 1960, where 400 athletes represented 23 countries. In Barcelona, an estimated 3,100 competitors—blown with cerebral palsy, the blind and visually impaired, paraplegics, quadriplegics, amputees and others—from 106 countries will run or wheel or crawl Montjuic Olympic Stadium for the opening ceremonies on Sept. 3. They will compete, according to their last hard training sessions before the Paralympic Games, which begin this weekend in Barcelona. Brooks can hear the traffic, but the games feature some competition, and the same venues, as in the Olympics, although some sports, like wheelchair basketball and tandem cycling, where a blind cyclist pedals with an sighted athlete, are modified. As more people with disabilities join athletes

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Brooks, a 26-year-old medical student in the marathon at the 1990 world championships for athletes with disabilities, is one of Canada's top contenders. But the 143-member Canadian team includes a host of other medal hopefuls, as well. They include Joanne Bourne of St. Catharines, Ont., who has cerebral palsy, a gold-medal winner in discus, shot put and powder of the last Paralympics in Seoul in 1988; world-champion swimmers Joanne Maca of Winnipeg, who is without feet and ankles, and wheelchair racer Chantal Petitclerc of St-Marc-des-Carrières, Que. The team gets \$330,000 from the federal government to go to Barcelona, about half the total cost. The rest comes from fund-raising and the athletes themselves. They will be seeking to do at least as well as Canada did in Seoul, where it finished fourth among 62 nations with 159 medals. That success, says Patrice Hayden, director of operations for the Canadian Paralympic team, is due in part to advances in wheelchair and prosthetic technology in North America. In Canada, she adds, "people are slowly coming around to accepting that disabled people can be athletes."

Bourne, a native of St. Thomas, was born with no arms and right due to congenital retardation. She now runs in a 100-m dash, a 100-m sprint, a 200-m sprint, a 400-m sprint, throwing events along with discus and shot put. Richard Gremmick, 26, native of St. Thomas, also has cerebral palsy. Bourne says that she is aiming to break her own records at what will likely be her last competition, but that she will remain involved in sports after Barcelona, at least as a sparring partner. "I'd like to let kids who have a disability know there is a sports option," she says. "This possibility is endless. A lot of people still think otherwise, but athletes have changed a lot."

Still, says Gremmick, some people do ask irritating questions. Often, he says, someone will want to know how far he can run on the shot put—he has thrown 12.66 m, a Canadian record for men's C7 class. "Then they say, 'but what does a regular person throw?'" adds Gremmick. "It's hard when someone asks that. The able-bodied world record is around 22 m. If you put it that way, peak, we're throwing at lot less. But you can't really compare."

At Athlone aside, many athletes must learn to use their athletic skills to their own abilities. Joanne Maca was born without ankles and feet. But her parents took her swimming occasionally. Then, when he returned to St. Thomas in 1986, he joined a running club and later teamed up with Wills, a Grade 8 teacher and athlete. "Wills is a blind athlete," says Wills, now 42. "Other blind athletes would say that St. Thomas was exceptionally lucky to find guides to get out every day and achieve in a training regimen not like an able-bodied person. Bourne, who receives a provincial disability pension of \$400 a month, runs at least an hour a day. And although she hopes to place well in the 800-m race, most of her training has been devoted to the marathon, which she considers "ideal," says Brooks. "I'd like to run myself into the ground so hard that I need someone to hold me up when I cross the finish line."

Unlike Brooks, Joanne Bourne did not take physical education in high school. With cerebral palsy causing muscular spasticity unrelenting on the right side of her body, she says, she did not think she could do very well. But the 29-year-old phenom has made up for lost time. She joined an athletics club 12 years ago, and has been training ever since. Bourne is the world-record holder in shot put, javelin and discus in the C7 class—athletes with cerebral palsy are classified from C7, the most severely disabled, to C4, the least.

Bourne runs two to three hours, six days a week. That includes weight-lifting, bench-pressing up to 170 kg, and throwing javelin along with discus and shot put. Fellow athlete Richard Gremmick, 26, also has cerebral palsy. Bourne says that she is aiming to break her own records at what will likely be her last competition, but that she will remain involved in sports after Barcelona, at least as a sparring partner. "I'd like to let kids who have a disability know there is a sports option," she says. "This possibility is endless. A lot of people still think otherwise, but athletes have changed a lot."

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Indeed, the "But Macs usually powers ahead, especially in the longer distances—and her best shot in Barcelona, she says, was the 800-m freestyle, the 200-m medley. "There," she says, "my strength and my endurance are more important than my dive."

For 23-year-old Chantal Petitclerc, swimming was just an introduction to life. Nine years ago, she was visiting a farm near her family's home in St-Marc-des-Carrières, west of Quebec City, when a barn door fell on her. She suffered a spinal cord injury that left her paralysed below the chest. Petitclerc took up swimming to keep in shape. But when, at age 17, she moved to Quebec City to attend school and found that there was no pool near her new home, she went to a gym to lift weights. There, she met the coach of the city's wheelchair racing team. He convinced her to take up the sport and, within a year, she began smashing Canadian records.

Petitclerc, who moved to Edmonton last year to study history at the University of Alberta, went on to capture silver medals in the 800 m and the marathons at the 1990 world championships for athletes with disabilities. She also placed second in the 800 m at the 1990 Commonwealth Games and third in the same event at the 1991 world track-and-field championships—able-bodied games where the wheelchair race was a demonstration event.

Then, at the U.S. track-and-field trials in New Orleans last June, she suffered a bilateral Achilles tendon tear during the decathlon's event at the Summer Olympics, and placed fifth in the 800 m of competition. Competing at the Olympics "is very important as a symbol of inclusion," says Petitclerc, "and I was very disappointed."

Still, she says, she has re-focused her energies on the Paralympics, where she will compete in the 200-, 400-, 800- and 1,500-m races. "I think I have good chances," says Petitclerc. "I like my coach and I very confident." She adds, "able-bodied games, she concedes, athletes would not enter such a wide variety of races." She will also compete in the C8 class for the 100-m sprint stroke. Most of Maca's competitors have one leg amputated above the knee or one arm below the elbow, and will be able to close at least one good leg. Maca starts from a track runner's-style crouch. "It's not the greatest dive in the world," she says with a laugh. "I just don't get the same kind of distance. So when we all surface, everybody's just a little bit



Wills (left) and Brooks: "I'd like to run myself into the ground."

A war for the future

Ken Kesey writes of love among the ruins

SAILOR SONG
By Ken Kesey
(Prism, \$13.95, 337 pages, 887,995)

Ken Kesey has had a long brush between now—26 years. After his most recent, while he was on his 20th *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1962) and *Sometimes a Great Melancholy* (1964), Kesey went on to become America's newest wild man, touring the so-called Merry Pranksters club and touring the United States in a

bus come in pass—global warming, ozone depletion, mutations and mass extinctions resulting from humanity's overuse of pesticides. In the right-wing world of the early 21st century, Alaska is the last pristine wilderness, a last bastion for those who believe in the horrors to come. "From Alaska there's no place left to go," writes Kesey. "From Alaska where is there?"

No game, sorry. The place Sailor is in the bus we've just pitched—it's the land we have to play. So it comes down to Alaska, the Final Frontier as far as this sick old hulkus goes.

Kesey's output is informed Kesey, a remote, dingy fishing village where a ragtag collection of economists and nuclearists struggle to construct a meager existence. The town's leading citizen is Doc Salas, "the Greek-god guy with the Elvis Presley eyes," as one character describes him. A middle-aged, semi-retired fisherman, Salas is a modern version of the frontier hero. Declined with the environmental fight and by the inability of humanity to make real change, he has retreated to Alaska to find peace and ultimate self-realization. His best friend, the dim-witted German gunsmithing as an A-side between bawdy-jelly maggot Omar Loop and his illegitimate son, the ex-bleeding heart Loosen's ex-bleeding heart, is back in town dealing with everyone else's problems, a magnificent eight sails into the harbor, carrying a high-priced Hollywood star crew as an elusive ex-con named Nicholas Leventer, who plans to make a multimillion-dollar movie with Kesey as the star—and who pretenses that everyone in town will get very, very rich.

The film crew's arrival throws the formerly simple, if offbeat, life of Kesey into chaos. "Look out there," Kesey writes, "here comes the f—k! Leventer makes Kesey over into a fire-breath, Hollywood set—Stripped and dressed and simplified, then blown up big as a house, so the actual bulk of the thing diminished it, belittled it, so the treasure had been soon here alluring and just out of reach, like

what's heaven for? had been devoured." The town dissolves into two camps: the majority who, seduced by Leventer's promise of wealth, agree to sell their lifestyle to capitalism and a small group, led by a reclusive Salas, who wants Kesey to repair it as it is. A war for the future of the community begins.

Stripped of its context, the novel's plot reads like a recipe for high Jive, and it does pole well-timed has at the movie industry, land developers and the bodies of small-town north- ern life. But Sailor Song transcends the merely humorous. Kesey's patient development of a world-shattered by self-destruct is fascinating. And he successfully weaves a moving and mature love story into the complicated tale. Kesey's careful, often poetic, descriptions of life on and by the sea are lyrical and evocative. And behind the frayed edges of his narrative is an overall, artfully crafted sense of meaning and depth. Kesey drives the central confrontation into a timely, honest metaphor for the relationship between contemporary Western society and the planet it appears to be destroying. Among the explores, theайлots and the possessors of Kesey's Kesey, there are no villains or heroes, only lone souls seeking for shelter from the inevitable storm.

Kesey presents a vision of beauty that is lonely and forgiving. A salty melody whipped up with care, Sailor Song is evidence of a prodigious talent that has been absent for far too long.

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- 6 *The Pelican Brief*, Grisham (3)
- 7 *Sailor Song*, Kesey (2)
- 8 *Replenished*, Harris (4)
- 9 *For the Sake of Blood*, George (6)
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Compiled by Brian Beckman

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Kesey: a mythic stature on the counterculture scene

neglected school bus. When journalist Tom Wolfe made that cut-and-paste trip the subject of *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* in 1968, Kesey achieved mythic status on the American literary and counterculture scene. Now, after three decades during which he has tried his hand at screenplays, essays, short stories and children's literature, the Oregon-based author, 56, has finally written that third novel—and it is full of wonders. With Sailor Song, Kesey proves that despite the long hiatus, he still has full control of the narrative form.

Sailor Song is a richly, expansive drama of love, corruption, independence and community responsibility, played out against the backdrop of a world falling apart. Kesey begins with a stark hypothesis: in 30 years, all of the current environmental doomsday scenarios



Men in suits demand a deadly price

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

On Saturday afternoon, Aug. 8, when John Kordic checked into a seedy motel in Quebec City, his hands were so bruised and swollen he couldn't grip the pen to sign the register. The room clerk, who knew him from another movie, signed his name for him. Several hours later he was dead, at 27, the victim of the masters of the "professional" sport in which he practiced his trade.

A week later, in a small European town, Ben Johnson, after hopping at the Olympics, faced well back in the pack in the 150-metre dash, spurred by the sportswriters, written off by his competitors, now scarcely even mentioned in the sports pages—a victim of the masters of the "amateur" sport in which he practiced his trade.

There is a similarity between John Kordic and Ben Johnson. It is not that the fact the former died at the hands of racists, the racists, house and the continued efforts of racists to tie him down to his hometown rays. And the latter, having run an estimated \$20 million in endorsements after his Olympic Games disqualification in Seoul, quite obviously cannot run as fast as everyone else when he was on them, and is now 30 and gaunt by the country he once represented.

The similarity is that they both been used by those who run the "sports" in which they excelled—with different gifts. Both young, both underprivileged, from unprivileged backgrounds. Both used, both abused, both exploited by those who could gain from them.

In Kordic's case, it was the cynical and greedy businessmen who run the clubs that form the National Hockey League and live-games who can easily shake a beat up on players opposite. In the trade, they are known as "enforcers." In reality, they are just John Kordic was a gun.

In drifting through four NHL clubs, used only as a gun, Kordic rapidly shot steroids into himself in the presence of other players and, say some of the players, coaches who raved and looked away. He wanted to be bigger so as to be a better gun. "I have to be able to beat



them up," he explained to his fiancée, "if I am able to get my chance."

The NHL has a supposedly strict rule about drug use. It has no policy on steroids. After Kordic wrecked the Quebec City motel room and, trashed like a loby, was carried off in the ambulance where he died, police recovered from the room 40 unused syringes along with a box of rods labelled as anabolic steroids.

Ben Johnson was a determined, uncooperative youngster from Janesville whose potential was recognized by coach Charlie Francis, who lit, as he confided before the Dohm inquiry, that the way to world success led through steroids. He was Dr. Frankenstein. Ben Johnson would be his Monster.

It worked—a world and Olympic record, until the two of them were caught. To think they were the only keepers of the secret in all of Canada is to dream. At the top of the heap—looking swag as if not to wear like Kordic's

coaches—were the Ottawa bureaucrats administering Sport Canada.

Ben Johnson was an employee of Sport Canada, paid with taxpayer money every month on the sole of the better he did the most money he got. Did no one ever notice the remarkable expansion of his shoulders? His amazing ability bench-press heavier and heavier lifts?

Of course not. The "amateur" heads of the "amateur" sport—wanting to reward sportswomen with gold medals—looked away as Johnson became an amateur drugstore. Kordic reportedly adumbrated a Stanley Cup ring to the Montreal Canadiens, a team once led by the French President, a team once led by the skier-musician, Jean Perre, then the Montreal coach and now a Quebec radio talkshowhost, music: "He beat the shit out of everybody. He was the best fighter in the league. Nobody could take John Kordic."

Perhaps in golf, the Canadians in 1988 traded Kordic to the Toronto Maple Leafs for Ron Courtnall in an acceptable deal. Courtnall being possibly the fastest skater in the game. Toronto, it seems—captained by the easiest players in the league, Syl Apps, former British Empire Games pair walk champion, laterly an Ontario Tory cabinet minister—needed a goat.

What does an world-champion card holder in a 100 to do when he's young and gay? Does Sport Canada give a pension to those who once allowed a put-behind sketch of evil servants to just around the world in international track meets where the only ones who could match the opposition? Of course not. Their jobs are safe. One unremodelled skater, where world champions like Brian Boitano, decades later, chasing down Georgia and the country Joe Louis ruled up to slightly added "prospect" at a Las Vegas casino.

Last week, in Florida, the grizzly second "governor" of the NHL annual confab struggled exuberantly over a proposed rule change to outlaw fighting. In other words, to obviate the need for the John Kordics of the game. Of course it was solved down to leave it to the poor referee to eject only the "instigator" of the brawls that highlight the evening news and provide the inspiring example for any future Kordic in racid ratios as the way to the rim.

The "professional" sport of hockey task John Kordic and taught him that his fists, his bulk and his steroids, were what kept him in line) that his fists would never keep him. The "amateur" sport of track taught Ben Johnson that the way to world riches was to stuff his body with chemicals. Both took two young men and used them up—then jacked them.



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